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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

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MDCCCXLII.

JULY — DECEMBER.

Φιλοσοφίαν δὲ οὐ τὴν Στωικὴν λέγω, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρεῖον τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα εἴρηται παρ' ἑκάστῃ τῶν αἱρεσέων τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς ἐπιστήμης ἐκδιδάσκοντα, τοῦτο σύμπαν το ΕΚΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίαν φῆμι. — CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* L. 1.

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THE

ECLECTIC REVIEW

For JULY, 1842.

Art. I. *Ancient Christianity and the Doctrines of the Oxford Tracts for the Times.* By the Author of 'Spiritual Despotism.' Vols. I. and II. London: Jackson and Walford.

Tracts for the Times are good things in their way; supposing, of course, that they are really calculated for the times; but from their very nature, they ramble over so many subjects, that though they may be imbued with a single spirit, they can seldom form an harmonious and classical whole. The same remark must necessarily apply to any work which attempts to answer such Tracts, or afford an antidote to them, before the series is completed. However useful and true may be the arguments by which the running fight is maintained, yet as they follow the doublings of the adversary, and by no means aim constantly at one goal, our minds cannot derive from the contemplation of them that sense of satisfaction which is inspired by completeness and beauty.

We have before us *eight* numbers of Ancient Christianity, forming two volumes, which contain nearly eleven hundred closely printed octavo pages, and the author gives us to understand that another volume is to come. Our original desire had been to wait until the work was quite finished, before we undertook to review it; more especially as it has so changed its character since we before noticed it slightly. But the great variety of topics now introduced in it justifies us in regarding it as a miscellany, or as (we might say) a periodical, avowedly directed against the Pusey-school, and in defence of the Church of England, rather than as a survey of Ancient Christianity. We do not complain of the course which the author has chosen; perhaps he has already in part succeeded in his desire to awaken

the clergy and laity of his own communion to the dangers and errors of the system which he opposes. But it certainly alters the nature of his work, and forces us in part to look upon it with different eyes. We do not wish to retract or to modify the high satisfaction with which we welcomed its appearance. We hope that it will be productive, if not of all the good which the author might desire, yet still of great and important good; and that it will force our ministers and people also to a study of ecclesiastical history, the consequences of which cannot be foreseen.* In bringing the whole series to the notice of our readers, we are oppressed by feeling the vast extent of the subject. Having our eyes and emotions fixed on the events themselves, to which the author points us, our own impulse is, so to dwell on the substance of things as to forget the peculiarities and minor infirmities of the writer, as likewise the matters in which we differ from him. Yet we are checked by the apprehension, that this might seem like indiscriminate panegyric, especially since so many of his opponents have called his facts into question; and some readers might imagine that our blindness to his failings indicated a strong predetermination to agree with his conclusions.

In the treatment of historical, as of legal, evidence, it often happens that our opinion of the strength of the case, and of the ability of the reasoner, are in a sort of inverse ratio. Considering how many learned men have explored the field of ecclesiastical history, and that not all were fettered by church Articles or by strong prejudice, it would indeed be a powerful objection to any modern investigations, if it could be said that the broad facts possessed much novelty. Now, on the contrary, Mr. Isaac Taylor's facts are on the surface of various preceding histories. Most of them are in substance found in Mosheim; they gave edge to the sarcasms of Gibbon; they are freely exposed in the downright and racy reasonings of Conyers Middleton; are feebly acknowledged, or virtually implied, in some of the biographical narratives of Milner. We formerly had occasion to refer to Bishop Newton's honest and straightforward denunciation of the Nicene church, as the proper and adequate fulfilment of Paul's prophecy concerning demonolatry, false miracles, monkery, and other asceticism. Mr. I. Taylor has now, judiciously, as we think, made this prominent, by adjusting his sixth number, in great measure, to accord with Bishop Newton's remarks. It is thus manifested, that he is maintaining *no novelty;*

* The recent appointment at Oxford of *two* new Divinity Professors, one for Pastoral Theology, and one for Ecclesiastical History, is perhaps a sign of the times. It looks as if *even* Oxford were about to study Divinity. But Professors are often no mark of pupils.

that the reader has little to take on the personal responsibility and trustworthiness of the author; that if the argument is strong, it is so because the facts themselves are abundant, and not because of Mr. Taylor's abundant ingenuity. The truth is rather, that men of superior education have long taken as proved the very early corruption of the church. Divines held a prudential silence; dissenting ministers, who dipt into the writings of the 'Fathers,' shrank back with disgust at that which is so opposed to unsophisticated Christianity; Unitarians, who coolly discussed such matters, either gained no hearing, or were supposed to be desirous, at any expense, of disparaging Nicene worth, from dislike of the Nicene Trinity; finally, learned laymen generally looked on the whole with a political eye, perhaps also with high contempt. The Protestant world has been taken by surprise, to hear teachers from Oxford allege, that the church system of the fourth and fifth centuries possesses, *presumptively*, truth and authority; that the doctors of those ages have a *quasi*-inspiration, so that to differ from them, when they agree, is an awful matter, scarcely to be justified (it would seem) at the end of a long life of learning, spent in the leisurely perusal of forty or fifty thousand folio pages. Should a new race of teachers declare the prophets of Thor and Odin to have been *quasi*-inspired, refutation would be a tedious task, if political events emboldened them to make the cool assumption, that the pretensions of the Scandinavian bards were to be acknowledged *until* disproved; and that, in the mean time, the soul must be bowed in mysterious reverence, ready to interpret every doubtful fact in their favour, and to make light of every argument against them, unless it were absolutely demonstrative.

Such nearly appears now to be the posture of mind, with a majority of the followers of the Tractarians. To convince men who have taken up with an unfair position of the argument, and who shudder to hear plain facts, calling them profanity and ribaldry, is a hopeless task; yet, for the sake of those not yet seduced, labours such as Mr. Taylor's are highly valuable. Irksome indeed it must be (we sympathize keenly with his complaints) to undergo the drudgery of reading such writers. Most ecclesiastical historians, at least among Protestants, have, no doubt, evaded it. A few references, gathered from other compilations, enable them to dip upon critical passages, and obtain important extracts; but unless forced to the tedious task of thoroughly perusing what has so little intrinsic merit, who can expect them to volunteer it? The praise of *superior learning* is thus awarded to the Oxford divines. Their followers virtually demand that no one shall claim to be heard against them who has not bestowed the same amount of attention as they, on

authors whom *others* neither revere nor admire; and if an able and clear-minded Professor of Geometry expose the tendencies of their system, it is, with many, a sufficient refutation to say, *He does not pretend to be a learned man*; that is to say, he does not think a study of 'the Fathers' to be worth any great fraction of human life. Truly, in this way it would be hard to refute the claims of Chinese or Hindoo mythology.

Before entering further into Mr. Taylor's work, we think it best to dispatch at once what we have to say concerning its faults; faults, some of which, in any other work, would seem to us not small; but in this, to be quite swallowed up by the general importance of the controversy, and by the positive value of his contributions.

First: we will place that which we care least about, yet which it would seem like affectation to omit, the petty discharges of occasional guns against the voluntary system,* especially in his earlier parts. We are quite aware that this system was the only one which was or could be acted on, during the whole of the second and third century, as well as during the first. The Romanists of Ireland live under it, equally as do the congregational churches of England and America. It would be a clear infatuation to imagine, that the voluntary system will either compensate for a want of the spirit of Christ, or will effectually generate his influences. It is surely *one* thing to say, that a pure church of Christ is likely to be injured by receiving state patronage; that it ought not to desire others to be taxed for its enrichment; and that it ought not to barter away its discipline and its order for rank and money; and quite *another* thing to believe, that a church which has the voluntary system has all that is requisite for life and godliness. We feel, therefore, as free to comment on the errors of the ancient churches, as on those of Romish Ireland, although neither the one nor the other have the support of the civil power: nor can we imagine that this in any way affects our consistency as upholders of the voluntary system.

But it is surprising to us that Mr. Taylor can take so perverted a view of history, as to allege that the system of National Religion commenced at the Reformation. The assertion appears so amazing, that we must give his own words:—Vol. i. p. 447.

* In vol. i. p. 9, the author speaks of *the swamps of dissent*, a phrase which we do not understand, except that it was meant to insult us, and to propitiate the clerical reader of his work. In the same page he says, that 'the assumptions on which the modern congregational system rests,' will soon be 'shifted [sifted?] anew, and brought to the test of Scripture.' We do not know what 'assumptions' he means, but we think that his candour ought to allow, that congregationalists are uniformly far more desirous than those whom he has joined, to bring their church practices to the test of Scripture.

'*Then the full corn in the ear.* The gradual developement (commenced at the Reformation) of the genuine principle of NATIONAL RELIGIOUS EXISTENCE, which is just now struggling through its crisis, as well of argument as of political strife, but is destined to come out, shall be understood at length, and gratefully acknowledged and submitted to, as the true and only foundation of just, peaceful, beneficent, and *permanent* government. Then shall the meek inherit the earth.'

If any principle of government stands out on the surface of all ancient history, it is assuredly this; that all the nations of the world held religion to be a matter of national concern and control; and if there be any principle wholly new, introduced by Christianity, it is, that religion is primarily and essentially the concern of individual consciences, and must not be given up at the bidding of the state. The precepts of Christ are full of injunctions to disobey man rather than God, and of warnings to his disciples, that they must be ready to endure all things at the hands of rulers, rather than forfeit their faith in Him. The apostolic doctrine and practice followed in the same track, and exhibited to the world for the first time a religion dissociated from all bonds of state and country, and therefore capable of becoming truly Catholic. Is it possible that Mr. Taylor is blind to these facts? Quite impossible, we think; yet how he could write the above passage, with the knowledge of them, we cannot conceive. But in another point of view, it is full of implied error; for, from Constantine downward, the National Church* was efficiently established, and persecuted both dissenters and unbelievers with abundant activity. At all events, the fact is clear, that this 'development' of national religion, which our author so commends, is a movement in precisely the reverse direction to everything introduced by the Lord and his apostles. So far from being the carrying forward of a principle sanctioned by them, it is a working back into heathenism, and a virtual sanctioning of the tyranny which gave the bodies of saints to the executioner. But we shall have other opportunities of unfolding and establishing this truth.

Secondly: a considerable drawback against this work on ancient Christianity, viewed argumentatively, is, the apparent vacillation of the writer in his estimate of characters. This has been often urged against him, but after considering his defence of himself, we cannot admit its validity. He says that he attacks only the Nicene system, and not the individuals who constructed the system; and that he may consistently apply honourable epithets

* It was strictly *national* until the Roman empire fell in pieces; as it did not include the Christians of Armenia, Babylonia, India, Abyssinia, &c., which were exterior to the Roman empire.

to the men. Yet he distinctly prefers the morality of Plato or Cicero to that of St. Jerome; contrasts the Nicene fathers, as a body, with the Pharisees, and pronounces them to be decidedly worse than the latter, because the Pharisees did but corrupt a ritual religion, while the others corrupted a spiritual and a holier one.—(Vol. i. p. 429.) He arraigns them, in one out of several passages, in the following words: vol. i. p. 121. (The italics are his own.)

'I shall, as I confidently hope, succeed in affording the most convincing proof of the fact, that the Christian teachers, *from the very first*, and while they held the formal elements of truth, or, as it is called, orthodoxy, grossly misapprehended the genius and purport of Christianity; and, as a consequence of this misapprehension, turned out of its course every Christian institute, and placed on a false foundation every principle of virtue; and thus transmuted the Christian system into a scheme which could find no other fixed form than that of a foul superstition and a lawless despotism.'—[We shall presently remark on the words, *from the very first.*]

Once more; p. 441, he says,—

'No men of these times were better learned, none were more eloquent, than were many of the bishops and orators of the church; yet . . . . . *every* man of that critical era lent his utmost endeavours to the work of urging forward what should have been checked and repressed; and while struggling to correct certain palpable abuses, yet every one fomented the very principles and cherished the institutions, whence, manifestly, these abuses had sprung.'

He elsewhere discusses the opposition offered to the superstitions of the day by Vigilantius, as likewise by Jovinian; and laments the fact, that all such men were instantly set down as heretics, and denounced in the grossest and most violent language. Every Christian father of those ages signalizes himself in this course when opportunity offers, Augustine being neither last nor least in the same wretched work; (see vol. i. p. 445;) so that, in short, the fathers, according to our author, were so far from rising above their age, as to be besotted in their attachment to its worst elements, and unflinching in their bigotry against the few who would have stayed the plague. If we saw the leaders struggling against the stream, we might think that the age declined *in spite* of them; but the admired and revered spokesman of a declining age must surely be pre-eminent in its errors. With the Scripture in their hand, they deliberately went back into darkness. Under these circumstances, we think he has no right to attach honourable epithets to their names, such as must, in any case, at least imply that they were moving, foremost of their age, towards truth, instead of being foremost towards superstition and despotism;

sometimes dragging the age after them, with violent vituperation, if it did not go fast enough to ruin. More especially, it is unjustifiable to be lavish of respectful titles, when he is so keenly sensible of the mischief of over-esteeming these personages, as to write a book avowedly intended to brush away the halo from their forms.

Thirdly: while we desire not to assume the tone of superiors, we cannot but feel that there is a certain crudeness and indecision in the ground which he himself has occupied concerning TRADITION. If, without impertinence, we may freely express our opinion, it is this—that Mr. Isaac Taylor has been disgusted by finding the cry of 'the Bible only' applied to prove that all ecclesiastical history is useless; has then somehow imagined that such a view is essential to Dissenters; and has proceeded to select for himself an untenable and scarcely intelligible position between that of the Tractarians who plainly acknowledge, and that of Dissenters, who plainly deny, *authority* in the ancient Christian fathers as witnesses to the book of Holy Writ. In his long discussion of eighteen pages, entitled, 'The Dependence of the Modern Church upon the Ancient Church,' which is meant as a polemic against Dissenters, we must think that he laboriously misses the mark. He talks much of the TESTIMONY and JUDGMENT of the early church, and declares, among other things, that the observance of the first day of the week rests on a WELL-CONFIRMED TRADITION.* Yet if the matter be followed a single step farther, he will be forced to descend into 'the swamps of dissent.' For who tells him that this is a *well-confirmed* tradition? it is only his own judgment on a point of historical criticism. And what induces him to lay more stress on the testimony of Justin to the second epistle of Peter, than on the testimony of the same writer to the verses of the Sibyl and of Hystaspes?† The case must surely be plain, that it rests with the modern critic to decide what weight is due to the 'testimony' (improperly so called) of these ancients; and Mr. Isaac Taylor has no ground for imputing it to 'the modern spirit of self-sufficiency,' that we think it necessary to rejudge these judgments. Such language is a weapon which not only cuts both ways, but is far sharper in the hands of his adversaries than in his own. How fairly might they in turn declaim against the modern spirit of self-sufficiency in one who declares that 'venerable antiquity' is a 'gay bubble,' who thinks most meanly of the apostolic (or earliest) fathers, and who fearlessly asserts that their successors, with scarcely a single exception,

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misapprehended the genius and purport of Christianity. *We* do not tax him with self-sufficiency in thus rejudging the ancients; but we complain that he does not wholly give to us the liberty of thought which he so amply uses himself. In short, we unwillingly confess that there breathes through all the book an atmosphere of dogmatism, which is at once inconsistent and unbecoming. However, we must avow, that in vol. ii. p. 22—25, &c., he appears to have become a mere Biblican Dissenter again.

Fourthly: a reader of his book needs to pay great attention to the use which our author makes of the phrase 'Ancient' Christianity, as opposed to that of the 'Apostolic' times. By the term Ancient, or Nicene, he denotes the third, fourth, and fifth centuries. *It is within these limits that the fathers live, on whom the new Oxford school lays all its stress.* Presuming, if we rightly interpret him, that his reader will never forget of what period he is speaking, he often employs vague expressions which seem to have misled even candid opponents. We have already quoted a passage, in which he uses the phrase, 'the Christian teachers, *from the very first*,' words by which we cannot question that he meant, 'from the very beginning of the period which I am discussing with my opponents,' for any other interpretation would include Paul and Timothy, Clement and Linus, under the term 'Christian teachers.' Such and similar loose phrases have been (as we think) misunderstood, and severely animadverted upon, of which we will give one instance, somewhat different in kind from the former. Vol. i. p. 62: 'Had it been possible, *at any moment during the first five centuries*, to have withdrawn this opinion [of the angelic excellence of virginity] from the ecclesiastical system, the entire structure of polity and worship must have crumbled to the dust.' A respectable and moderate writer, the Rev. James Beaven, who quotes this with much surprise, evidently supposes Mr. I. Taylor to assert nothing less, than that the fabric of church worship in the *first* century was based on the doctrine of the merit of virginity. The extreme absurdity of it, from a writer who rejects the doctrine as unapostolic, satisfies us that his sentence is to be interpreted as follows:—'Had it been possible, at any moment of the first five centuries, *during which it can be proved that the Hierarchical* system existed*, to withdraw this opinion, &c., that system would forthwith have crumbled to the dust.' But we do feel, that in a matter so eminently cri-

* In fact, the Episcopal, as opposed to Presbyterian authority, appears practically prominent for the first time in Cyprian's controversy; and Cyprian's date and locality undeniably furnish proof of both celibacy and its abuses. As for the Episcopal pretensions advanced in Ignatius's epistles, they were at any rate words without act; nor can any just confidence be attained that they are not later interpolations, where so much is undoubtedly interpolated.

tical, he is to blame for allowing the possibility of mistake; and there certainly are many awkward phrases of this kind which produce a paradoxical effect, which ought to be removed in a second edition: nor does it appear to us that his second edition of the first number has at all received, in these respects, the verbal improvements which might have been cheaply bestowed upon it.

That he has been misunderstood in other matters is perhaps imputable chiefly to the extreme difference of mind between himself and his opponents. Of this also we will give one specimen. The following sentence is quoted, as containing his opinion of the moral and spiritual condition of *every unmarried man*, p. 393:—'The meagre, heartless, nerveless, frivolous, or abstracted and visionary *cœlebs*, make him a bishop! The very last thing he is fit for; let him rather trim the lamps and open the church doors, or brush cobwebs from the ceiling! How should such a one be a father to the church?' Now in fact Mr. I. Taylor most distinctly declares his belief that there are high services, for which unmarried men, *by reason of their external disembarrassments*, are far better suited than the married; and to this effect he formally expounds the well known decision of our Lord on this very matter; and yet there are honourably minded readers of his work, who seem unable so to understand the above sentence as not to make him directly contradict himself. For ourselves we must say, it had never occurred to us to interpret the *cœlebs* as being any other character than the person on whom our author so dilates; i. e., the man who dedicates himself to virginity against his inclinations, under the idea that such abstinence is a high spiritual merit, a sacrifice of some wonderful unknown delight, which in consequence pesters his imagination in a way that monks know too well; who, farther, after the universally prescribed practice, betakes himself, *not* to active occupation, cheerful company, and virtuous female society, the obvious and only effectual help, but to severe fasting and solitary meditation. This is, we confidently say, an admirable *recipe* for producing an unearthly, unnatural, unwise, visionary, or abandoned man. But that is a totally different thing from the false and absurd imagination, that such is the character generated by abstinence from marriage, under the circumstances in which, for instance, English Protestants abstain from it; i. e., from outward causes, or from want of inclination. Nor can we conceive that Mr. Isaac Taylor has for a moment confounded the two things.

We turn gladly to the part of his work which, while containing little or nothing positively new even to the English tongue, has had all the effect and value of originality; because our standard works either do not develope in combination the various phenomena of the Nicene and ante-Nicene age, or shrink from dwelling on them, and deducing practical conclusions. Our

author has here drawn out various lines of thought, and has presented certain principles of investigation and tests of his assertions, which instantly commend themselves to the unsophisticated judgment; and which, to no small extent, show how any future historian of these times ought to approach the subject.

The Germans have plenty of works which furnish the modern reader with the *materials* of history; but the thing needed here is, so to fill out the picture of those times as rightly to impress the imagination; which certainly has been little done hitherto. But we shall perhaps best give our readers a conception of his fulness of discussion, by putting before them the headings of a series of chapters.

Page 56. A Test of the Moral Condition of the Ancient Church, [i. e. of the third, fourth, fifth, &c. &c. century.]
— 67. The Celibate—Earlier and Later.
— 104. Antiquity of the Opinions concerning Religious Celibacy.
— 145. Connexion of the Ancient Celibate with the Notions entertained of the Divine Nature in the Nicene Theology.
— 175. Its Connexion with the Notions entertained of the Scheme of Salvation.
— 226. Some special Methods of estimating the Quality of the Nicene Theology.
— 277. The Rule of Religious Celibacy, as laid down in the New Testament.
— 299. The Ascetic Apostasy predicted in 1 Tim. iv.
— 313. The Extent of the Ascetic Institute, and the Sanction it received from the Nicene Church.
— 333. The Opposition made to the Ancient Ascetism—Jovinian and Vigilantius [the Reformers overpowered by Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine.]
— 347. Monkery and Miracle.
— 357. Moral Quality of the Ascetic Institute, as it affected the Monks themselves.
— 371. Necessary Operation of an Ascetic Institute on the Mass of Christians.
— 379. The Indirect Influence of the Monastic Institute on the Position of the Clergy.
— 388. The Direct Influence of the Celibate on the Clergy.
— 397. Connexion of the Ascetic Institute with Ritual Notions and Practices.
Vol. ii. p. 173. Christianized Demonolatry in the Fourth Century.
— 233. The Nicene Miracles determinative of the Present Controversy.
— 242. The Unknown Martyrs of Milan.
— 272. The Bleeding Relics of St. Euphemia.
— 277. The Invention of the Cross, and the Miracles therewith connected.
— 316. Relics of St. Stephen, Proto-Martyr.
— 356. Reasons for rejecting the Nicene Miracles.

The only instructive, as the only fair way of reading or writing ecclesiastical history is, to look through the whole mind of the times which we are surveying, and ascertain not only what the age thought upon one or two isolated subjects, but why it held them, and in what relation to other views, and what was the entire texture of its moral and spiritual sentiment, the nature of the arguments which convinced it, and the effects of its creed on its practice; how its institutions sprang out of (and bear witness to) the principles then at work, and in turn affected those principles. All these topics are but so many axioms in what is called 'profane' history: unfortunately, however, the application of them to ecclesiastical history is thwarted by sinister and base interests. Anglican divines, who desire to appeal to 'the ancient church' in defence of their own peculiarities, would fain represent the monkery, the celibacy, and the false miracles of the fourth century as isolated facts, which no more affect the soundness of mind of the church at large, than does Irvingism or (may we add?) Puseyism in the present day. And herein they are assisted by the assumed analogy of that time to this; as it is easy to persuade readers that things went on then as they do now. But an honourable or a judicious historian will investigate the fact; and in the case before us, the very reverse is to a great degree true. Christianity now runs in numerous channels, for the most part separate, and by no means parallel to each other; so that the eccentricities of one school or sect may indicate nothing concerning the rest. But in the third and fourth century, the Church Catholic, so called, (for we neglect the *heretics* who contentedly remained outside her pale, as either not numerous or not noticed), the Church Catholic, we say, did not then boast causelessly of her Catholicity, if we expound the word to mean *homogeneity of doctrine and sentiment* through her whole body. Our author most distinctly sees, and powerfully sets forth, that this Ancient Church, from the third century downward, adopted as her own, and became thoroughly pervaded by, the feelings, doctrines, and practices which her Anglican admirers have generally been ashamed of, and have tried to throw into the background. Now that a school has arisen, which asserts that we are bound by the judgment of the ancient church, he most justly insists that we must take that authority as a whole, and must not hide that which in fact pervaded them. He has caused so great an outcry against himself, precisely by that which is his merit,—namely, that he has had the moral courage to dwell upon unpleasant topics, and by repeated recurrence to them, take care that they shall be remembered. He might, like Mosheim, have stated the same fact, once for all, and no one would have much cared, because it would pass by and be for-

gotten. His real offence consists, in being resolved that both the facts themselves, and their practical bearing, shall be steadily kept in view. At the same time, we have no doubt that thousands will prefer to receive monkery and monkish miracles, rather than get into 'the swamps of dissent' by falling back unreservedly on really apostolic Christianity; and therefore, in a controversial sense, we should be sorry to be shut up entirely into that one line of argument which Mr. I. Taylor has adopted; and we regret that he has thought it requisite to cast some slight on the various methods of dealing with the adversary which others have chosen.

But we must avow, it is by no means in a controversial point of view that we chiefly value his labours; indeed we have already shown, that as a controversialist, we do not regard him as very invulnerable. But we do form the hope that, aided by the excitement of the controversy, his work will really lead to a more thorough and searching treatment of ecclesiastical history. It is not any deep or dark fact, however dark divines may be about it, that each age has its own atmosphere, through which it sees truth, distorted into various forms, so that the divine reality is always more or less disfigured, though never entirely destroyed. Now of all human experience, no points of detail can be so important as this general result; and to warn us against errors of 'private judgment,' (for we are as keenly sensible of their existence as any Puseyite can be,) nothing is so valuable, as a clear perception of the source of the errors of 'public judgment.' Error in the mass, and developed on a large scale, becomes palpable and clear. Nor does any intellectual exercise so conduce to true candour, and so save us from unkind and stupid bigotry, as the habit of looking at the same objects from different points of view, not as we and our contemporaries or associates habitually view them, but as other men, equally sincere with ourselves, once viewed them.

Our author takes some pains to show how the Gnostic doctrine affected the church, and what was the source of its seductive power. We have no doubt that he is right in calling it a splendid theory, addressed to the imagination, and pretending to no argumentative proofs. Such a system, of course, has peculiar charms for ardent minds, who conceive that for the investigation of truth a pure soul is all and everything, and that experience and argument have no place in the higher region of theological thought. To a great extent, it must have appeared an appeal to grounds of faith closely similar to those on which the claims of Christianity were habitually based; its beauty as a divine philosophy, its purity, its adaptation to the most elevated feeling and sublime devotion. An age of argumentative

evidences, like the present, may naturally feel it hard to conceive how the monstrous absurdities, called Valentinianism and Gnosticism in our ecclesiastical histories, ever succeeded in attracting attention; much more, how they became dangerous rivals to orthodox Christianity; and this feeling often inspires a suspicion, that these old fathers have grossly misrepresented the notions which they oppose. We doubt not that they have drawn them with a coarse pencil; in short, have put everything in its least lovely light; but that is compatible with formal veracity. Mr. Taylor believes the Christian fathers, while opposing Gnosticism, to have involuntarily imbibed a Gnostic spirit, inasmuch as it is necessary to reason with an adversary from some common ground, and by methods of argument acknowledged on both sides. Whether this be admitted or not as the explanation, the fact appears to us undeniable, that there is a striking and alarming community of genius and feeling between the fathers of that age and their avowed adversaries. Without rejecting Mr. Taylor's hypothesis, we believe it rather to be a partial statement of a more general proposition. We would not so much say, that the Christians learnt Gnostic feeling *from controversy* with Gnostics, as that the intellectual genius of the age itself was Gnostic, and that Christian teachers partook of it, in proportion as they were capable of intellectual effort, and disposed to philosophic thought.

The history of Christianity shows with peculiar vividness that there is a most intimate connexion (for good or evil) between the higher philosophy of every age, and the creed of its more cultivated minds. Platonic views had, beyond a doubt, effected a lodgment in the church, even at the beginning of the second century; but it was not until its close, when the fame of the church of ALEXANDRIA began to spread, that the union became active and fruitful between philosophy without, and philosophy within the church. Strong and unchangeable as is our belief in the benefits of sound intellectual culture, we feel persuaded, not only that the church gained great mischief from *that* intercourse, but that the doctrines which she imbibed were in substance the very errors against which St. Paul warned the Colossians. She imbibed them at first the more unconsciously, because they had then so little definite shape, being often not so much defined doctrines as tacit fundamental assumptions, or as Mr. I. Taylor expresses it, a Gnostic *feeling*. Such was the first wide-spread corruption of Christianity, which our Author ably developes under many of the heads above noticed. But as his opponents have denied, and even derided his statements, as too absurd to need formal disproof, and have seemed to deserve credit themselves by pointing out some exaggerations on his part which do

not substantially affect his cause, we must dwell on this part of the subject. It indeed strikingly shows how great is the prevalent ignorance of ecclesiastical history, that it is possible to debate questions of so great magnitude concerning matter of fact; and we must confess that we have ourselves read professed refutations of our author, written with so much simple energy and hearty sincerity, with such an air of honest inquiry and moderation, as to stagger our own judgment. But as our opinion that he is nevertheless substantially right, must in itself be worthless to our readers, and as, within the limits here allowed, it is utterly impossible to offer any valid reinforcement of his statements, we have felt some hesitation what course to pursue. Our conclusion has been, that there is a great propriety in appealing in this matter to the testimony of Mosheim, and that for the following reasons.

No one can pretend that Mosheim is a new-fangled or light-minded writer. He has long been the favourite ecclesiastical historian of our high church divines, almost the only one recommended at our Universities by professors of divinity and bishops. Not only is his formal orthodoxy unimpeached; not only did he write before Rationalism was heard of, but—whatever plain truth he may himself tell against the Fathers and their times—he has yet anything but a leaning toward their opponents; on the contrary, he always shows extreme coldness, and, as many think, often undue asperity towards all whom the Fathers vituperate. In the later history, his authority is naturally less to be rested on; but as he dedicated a separate work to the affairs of Christians before Constantine the Great, on which he lavished prodigious care, examining details with a minute industry quite wonderful, we may rest assured that he is not likely to make rash and sweeping assertions without any evidence, in regard to the second and third century. He has never been a favourite with the English public; nor is it wonderful. The very qualities which have recommended him at our Universities,—his calm and solid learning, his cold orthodoxy, his systematic minuteness, his unbiographical generalizations,—have all forbidden that he should be interesting and popular. Moreover, the Latin language in which he wrote, has given to his style a Pagan tinge, wholly un-Hebraical and un-Pauline, which alienates the sympathies of Christian readers; and as if to make bad worse, his translator, Dr. Maclaine, has expanded it very injudiciously into what is yet more tumid and heartless. These things are unfortunate, for they have greatly conduced to make his history a sealed book to the public, abundantly accessible as it is. Nevertheless, as most of our readers who choose to refer to it, will doubtless have the opportunity, this is yet another reason with us for selecting

Mosheim rather than Milman, or any more recent German historian, to compare with Mr. I. Taylor.

The importance of the subject may justify us in abridging here (so as to let the reader see the substance or tendency of their contents) a large part of Mosheim's chapters concerning the internal state of the church in the *second* century. Our words are, as nearly as may be, taken from the text and margin of Maclaine's translation, that we may introduce as little as possible of our own.

Century II., Chap. 3.—'1. *Primitive* Christianity was extremely simple. The public teachers confined themselves to the Apostle's Creed for subjects, and avoided all that was beyond common capacities. —2. This did not last long; for a chimerical philosophy was imprudently incorporated with Christianity. This is to be ascribed, partly to an ambition to present the precepts of Christ in a form acceptable to philosophers and rabbins, partly in order to reply to infidels and heretics.—3. By way of illustration: one Platonic doctrine which in this century came in, is, the belief that *only martyrs* entered upon bliss immediately after death.—4. There was indeed laudable zeal for diffusing and interpreting the Holy Scriptures.—5. Yet we know with certainty that their expositions were very fanciful. They attributed a double sense to all the words of Scripture; treated the obvious and literal sense with the utmost neglect; and were more studious to darken the Holy Scriptures with their idle fictions, than to investigate their true sense. Clement of Alexandria is said to have been the first who perverted sacred writ to the support of the philosophy of the times.*—6. It is not possible to give any systematic account of the theological views prevalent in this century.—7. The controversial writers were less successful in unfolding the true nature and genius of Christianity, and in demonstrating its truth, than in overturning Paganism.—8. Though *pious frauds* had not yet become habitual, as afterwards, yet the arguments current were void of all solidity, proper only to dazzle the fancy. Instead of appealing to the Scriptures, they appeal to the decisions of bishops, or to the antiquity of a doctrine, or to the imaginary powers of mystic numbers. Nor do they seem to err, who allege that the vicious 'Economical' system of disputation dates from this century'—[i.e., to use arguments adapted to convince the hearer, without any regard to the real validity of the argument, or truth of the facts assumed.]—'9, 10. As to the merit of the fathers as moral writers; if by a bad director in morals is meant *one who has no determinate notion of the nature and limits of the duties incumbent upon Christians, no clear and distinct ideas of virtue and vice, who has not penetrated the* SPIRIT *and* GENIUS *of those sacred books, to which alone we must appeal in every dispute about* CHRISTIAN *virtue, and who consequently fluctuates often in uncertainty, or falls into*

* This is exactly what Philo, an *Alexandrian* Jew, had done with the *Old* Testament.

error in explaining the divine laws, though he may frequently administer sublime or pathetic instructions; it must then be confessed that this title belongs to many of the fathers.—11. Morality and Christianity suffered deeply by a capital error unawares brought in in this century,—viz., *a double rule of sanctity and virtue*, as though Christ had *one* law for common men, *another for those, who in a sacred retreat aspired after the glory of a celestial state*.—12. This double doctrine produced numbers of ascetics, who professed to abstain from wine, flesh, matrimony, and commerce; to macerate the body by watchings, labour, and hunger; to live in privacy, and by meditation to raise the soul above external objects. Yet in this century they did not as yet retire into deserts, nor organize themselves into fraternities, though they wore a peculiar garb.—13. These absurdities were closely connected with principles of the Platonics and Pythagoreans, and flowed out of ideas adopted from them by the Christians concerning *the nature of the soul, the influence of matter, the operations of invisible beings* or demons, *and the formation of the world*.—14. This morose discipline had its rise in EGYPT, thence passed into Syria, till in process of time, its infection reached Europe.—15. The Platonists and Pythagoreans held it to be even praiseworthy to propagate lies in the cause of truth and piety. The Jews who lived *in Egypt*, had received this maxim from them before the coming of Christ, as appears incontestably from a multitude of ancient records. From the same source flowed the great number of *spurious books* which were spread abroad in this and the following century; in the countenancing of which, it cannot be affirmed that true Christians were innocent.—16. Heinous crime kept increasing among professed Christians, in spite of church-censures.—17. Abandoning the simple primitive method, the bishops now new-modelled their rules of discipline after those of the heathen mysteries, adding a vast multitude of rites, so as apparently to sanctify a heathen superstition.'

Chap. 4.—'1. The Christian worship was in this century corrupted by the addition of many needless ceremonies to increase its pomp.—2. Partly from a desire to allure into the church Jews and heathens, who were accustomed to pomp in religious services.—3. Partly to refute the calumny of their being atheists.—4. Partly, from an abusive application of Jewish analogies.—5. Partly from an imitation of the heathen mysteries.—6. Also from adopting the *symbolic* method of teaching so common in the East, and more especially in Egypt.—7. Lastly, by continuing practices which had been habitual to them as heathens,' &c. &c.

We need not quote any farther here; but we beg to call particular attention that all the above refers to the *second* century, and refers to matters which lie within one hundred years after the death of the last apostle. It is impossible to admit the facts without seeing how deep an inroad the Neo-Platonic philosophy was making on Christian sentiment; that it had pervaded the moral and spiritual feeling of the Christian leaders, and, in

short, that it was *the movement* of the age. The excellent Dionysius of Corinth quietly dissuaded his brother bishops from an *enforcement* of the law of celibacy; and Clement of Alexandria upheld the claims of married life; but such remonstrances barely touched the surface of things. The mischief was this. The pagan idolatries alluded to in the standard classics led to a prohibition of their perusal, so that the Christians were debarred from the free and healthy exercise of mind which we now know how to value; on the other hand, those who aspired to be teachers, feeling the need of *some* intellectual cultivation, sought for it in what appeared to be the purest school,—viz., in those pagan philosophers who seemed to have a sort of spirituality. Thus the Neo-Platonic writers were fostered as a pet literature, specially edifying to the saints, just as 'Rollin's History,' 'Plutarch's Lives,' and Mrs. Hannah More's Dramas, to some young lady at a boarding-school. It is not wonderful that neither Ignatius nor Dionysius foresaw the mischief which was to come from this source; while as for Clement, he was second only in time to Justin, but hardly second in influence even to Origen, in spreading an esteem and love of the Neo-Platonic philosophy, out of which flowed a result which he deprecated. Seeing now the clear testimony of Mosheim, that even in the second century the doctrine was so widely spread, surely there is no cause to charge our present author with maintaining paradoxes or novelties, when he states that in the *third and fourth* centuries the evil had mounted to such a height, that the soundness and simplicity which characterize the apostolic notions of holiness were lost, and were replaced by a factitious sanctimoniousness.

His statements on the subjects are diffused over so wide a surface, that we feel it hard to please ourselves in extracts, yet the reader may have satisfaction in the following specimens:—

Vol. i. p. 146, &c. 'Apart from an acquaintance with the history of that awful mistress of the ancient world, the ORIENTAL THEOSOPHY, which, under a thousand changeful colours, held the religious mind in thrall during a period of two thousand years,—apart from this history we are neither qualified duly to estimate the divine excellence and purity of the Christian system, nor to render full justice to the orthodox early writers on account of their resistance to this captivating illusion, &c. This oriental theosophic sentiment consisted in, and produced *a fatal misapprehension of the divine nature*, or moral attributes of God; and its consequence was, to give a totally wrong direction to everything in theology or in worship that might come within its reach.' P. 150. (It taught,) 'That the visible world, with its material elements and organized . . . . races,—is altogether unworthy of the Supreme and Infinite Power, or, as he was called, the Father Unknown, who is

the source of minds, human and angelic. . . . . That this material world was in fact the work of inferior and imperfect beings, or of one such being,' &c. . . . . P. 151. On the contrary, Christianity 'exhibited the Supreme Being' . . 'as *the antagonist neither of matter nor of the visible world*, nor of what is simply finite and corruptible, but as the enemy of that only, which is morally evil. . . . . But in the other system, the antithesis of the infinite perfection, was the finite and corruptible material world. . . . . The course, therefore, to be pursued by man in extricating himself from his luckless position, and in getting clear of its accident, sin; was, by lofty contemplation, by habitual mental abstraction, and *by disengaging himself*, as far as possible, *from the humiliating conditions of animal life*, to facilitate, and in a sense *to anticipate, his relapse into the infinite nature*.'

The last sentence contains the principle, which appears to have been widely diffused among philosophic Christians in the third century, and which bore fruit a hundred fold and a thousand fold in the fourth and fifth. When the idea crept in, that God was *the antagonist of matter*, it was unavoidable to infer that animal existence was in itself a pollution; that fasting and abstinence from everything in which the flesh can have pleasure, had an intrinsic virtue and value; in short, that by ceasing to be a man, and becoming a shaggy brute or a withered bag of bones, great approximation was made to the divine nature.

We have seen from Mosheim that these ascetic delusions were already spreading considerably in the second century; and as Egypt was their principal focus, the mischievous results were naturally manifested first in the African churches. Those who choose to refer to Mosheim's second chapter, sixth section, under the head of the third century, will find that he states even more broadly than Mr. Taylor does, that the fanatical or immoral union (whichever it was) between celibates and nuns had become a custom difficult to extirpate. In fact, it is long after complained of by Jerome, as existing at Rome in his own day, and was so deeply rooted as to be several times forbidden in synods. This fanaticism probably prevailed among the African churches *first*, but it was not confined to them; in fact, it is alluded to as something well known, and without disapproval, in Hermas (III. 9 Simil. ii.), where the virgins say to him, 'Thou shalt sleep with us as a brother, not as a husband,' &c. &c., which Gieseler (third edition of the *German*) regards as the first notice of the practice. He observes, also, that the Catholics are distinctly accused of it by Tertullian, De Jejuniis, c. 17, (which he quotes.) Having referred to Gieseler, (whose able work, at least in its American translation, is sufficiently well known in this country,) we may add his testimony from § 46, that the violent

opposition made in Asia Minor to the Montanist doctrine, was probably among the causes which led to its spreading so widely among the churches of the West. Montanism was a particular form of the ascetic opinions; and (says Gieseler) '*after all, it was only the church doctrines carried out to their full extent.*'

At what era a belief in the merit of celibacy, and the comparative degradation implied by matrimony began to spread, it is undoubtedly difficult to say; but the great reputation which (as Gieseler observes), although a Montanist, Tertullian obtained in all the Latin church (i.e., wherever his writings could be understood), shows that the soil was already prepared for receiving his harsh asceticism. Indeed we may go higher. The work which we have just quoted, called 'The Shepherd of Hermas,' enjoyed an extraordinary reputation in early times, and is quoted as canonical Scripture by fathers of the second and third century; yet it is of so* puerile a character as to throw much discredit on an age which could admire it; moreover, it contains numerous superstitions, and is wholly destitute of evangelical savour. This appears in itself to testify to the melancholy truth, that the doctrine of Paul, viewed spiritually, and not formally, took no deep root in what was called Christendom. It is farther manifest, as well by the events in the churches of Galatia, as by his warnings to the Colossians and his prophecies in the epistles to Timothy, that this leaven of self-righteous asceticism was already beginning to work. The earliest positive notice with which we are acquainted, of a band of church virgins, is contained in the (shorter) epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans, in which he salutes 'the virgins who are called widows.'† Of all the epistles bearing the name of Ignatius, perhaps none has been less questioned than this; and the phrase before us is so peculiar, that we think it must have been from Ignatius's own pen. It also appears to show how the abuse had advanced since the time of Paul. In his first epistle to Timothy, the apostle forbids the practice already prevailing of taking into the company of church widows women young enough to be liable to marry again, contrary to their promise ('incurring judgment for breaking their original promise,'—or vow?—1 Tim. v. 12); but in Ignatius's last year,—i.e., B.C. 107, they had reached the farther point, of giving the name and place of widow to young women who had never been married; nor does Ignatius reprove it. This, however,

* Gieseler believes it to be a spurious production of the second century. In this country, however, it generally passes as genuine, and Dr. Pusey quotes it as authoritatively deciding an important doctrine.

† The reading of the larger copy, 'The perpetual virgins (αειπαρθενους) and the widows,' appears like a later correction.

in part, makes against Mr. Taylor's assertion, that 'the very worst abuses' of religious celibacy existed 'from the very beginning' of the practice itself; at least he has not attempted to trace them so high, and we think such a course of events is scarcely credible. The institution could never have taken so deep a hold on men's hearts and judgments, unless it had for a long while preserved a fair exterior, and earned a reputation for sanctity. We may here add our strong dissent from his judgment, that the later cruelty, by which the church of Rome sought with more or less success to stifle the outward abuses of professed celibacy, was a great improvement on the wantonness of the Nicene period. In which of the two states there was more real impurity, perhaps it is vain for man to speculate; but the Romish system first allured her victims into temptation; then, if they fell into the snare, cruelly murdered them, to redress her own credit. This is one of the paradoxes, or *crotchets* of our author, by which he does damage to a cause substantially excellent.

To close the evidence as to the general condition of the church in the third century, we will present some passages from Mosheim, which will show that that writer did not regard the rest of Christendom to be then in a much better state than the African churches.

'Century III., Chap. 2.—3. The government of the church degenerates into a monarchical form.—4. This was followed by a train of vices in ecclesiastics. For though several yet continued to exhibit illustrious examples of primitive piety and Christian virtue, yet many were sunk in luxury and voluptuousness, puffed up with vanity, arrogance, and ambition, &c. *This is testified so amply, that truth will not permit us to spread the veil which we should otherwise be desirous to cast over such enormities in an order so sacred.* . . . . The bishops assumed a princely authority, ... their example was ambitiously imitated by the presbyters, who, neglecting the sacred duties of their station, abandoned themselves to indolence and luxury, &c. . . . A corrupt ambition was spread through every rank of the sacred order.

'5. Many additional orders were now created. . . . . The institution of *exorcists* was a consequence of the doctrine of the New Platonists, which the Christians had adopted; and taught that evil spirits were continually hovering over human bodies, towards which they were carried by a natural and vehement desire, &c. . . . . 6. [Then follows about celibacy and its abuses.]

'Chap. 3.—1. Christian doctrine is grievously corrupted by philosophy, especially by the *Egyptian* fathers. Origen set up Platonism as the test of all religion; and though he handled the matter with modesty and caution, set a most pernicious example.—2. The *mystic* theology advanced at the same time. Its votaries condemned the use of the logical faculty and the understanding, but sought for perfection

in silence, inactivity, and solitude, which, with the help of all sorts of bodily mortification, were believed to excite the hidden and internal word within the soul.—3. Hence the rise of monks and hermits. It was not so much persecution as fanaticism, which drove Paul, the first hermit, to live for ninety years the life of a savage animal.—4. There was great zeal for spreading abroad the Scriptures, Origen surpassing all in diligence.—5. Yet his fanciful mode of expounding them was such as wholly to destroy their meaning. . . . . 10. The Christian teachers, educated in the schools of the rhetoricians, wrote for victory, not for truth; and this disingenuous method *was almost universally approved*, in consequence of the prevalence of the Platonic doctrines.

'Chap. 4.—1. All the records of this century mention the multiplication of rites and ceremonies in the Christian church. A principal cause of this was, *the passion which now reigned for the Oriental superstition concerning demons, adopted by the Platonists, and borrowed*, unhappily, *from them by the Christian teachers*. For there is not the least doubt, that *hence* arose the use of exorcisms and spells, the frequency of fasts, and *the aversion to wedlock*.'

We have perhaps quoted more from Mosheim than was strictly needed; but we have been anxious to show, that in the whole substance of his statements concerning the doctrine of celibacy, its connexion with Neo-Platonism, and the moral corruption which simultaneously advanced, Mr. Taylor is fully justified by that learned and moderate writer. We trust our readers will not think we have overdone this part of our subject (for it is that on which our author has been most severely attacked); and we must now touch more concisely on what remains.

As the whole of our author's work is avowedly controversial, and directed against the doctrine of the Oxford Tracts, we ought, while considering whether he makes good his case *against them*, to remember that their favourite divines, on whom alone they rest with pleasure or satisfaction, come partly indeed from the third, but chiefly from the fourth and fifth centuries; and that their argument from any doctrine drawn from its 'universality,' &c., is practically confined to this period. If, therefore, he can prove that the doctrine of the merit of celibacy is *equally* universal, it is all that his argument needs; and he is overdoing his work in undertaking to prove that its worst abuses were contemporaneous with the practice itself. But it is strictly within the line of his argument to maintain that the credit of the Nicene fathers is knit up with the high praises of the Nicene monkery, and this last with that of demonolatry and of the monkish miracles; and on all these points he has opened doors of investigation which will not be shut again in England. It is easy here to reply, that he improperly quotes as authentic, 'the Life of St. Anthony, by

Athanasius,' &c. Such a remark is fair enough from a bystander and an historian, and it deserves investigation; but the Pusey school, and indeed the clergy of the high church generally, have no right to make this retort on our author. He has to deal with divines who practically treat as genuine, and press on others as authoritative, the mixed mass of writings called 'the Fathers.' So little fastidious is their criticism, that we have not only the Recognitions of Clement, but even the Liturgy* of St. Peter, quoted by one of their most eminent leaders, as if it were genuine. In this point of view, however, Mr. Taylor's labours can only be looked on as a resting-place for the mind in the course of its inquiries. The progress of sound knowledge concerning spurious and genuine works may lead to a modification of some sentiments which he has advanced; but *no* progress is *possible* while the mind is enslaved to an insane belief of the quasi-infallibility of the 'ancient' church. To dispel this infatuation is a matter of first necessity, to which he has made a useful contribution. When he addresses himself to expound the Scripture, we do not always agree with him; on two occasions, especially, we think he is unfairly biassed by his immediate argument. First, when he alleges that St. Paul forbids an unmarried man to be made a bishop, he appears to us obviously to overstrain the apostle's words. Secondly, we cannot be persuaded that in Rev. xiv. 4, the words have the sense which Mr. Taylor argues,—viz., freedom from *idolatry*. We cordially agree with the Rev. Mr. Beaven, that such an interpretation is so far from being supported by, as to be utterly opposed to the whole analogy of scriptural figurative language; and that no one could take such a view of it, except to support a hypothesis. On the other hand, it is quite undeniable, that *if* it speaks of marriage

* Upon this the Rev. J. H. Newman makes the following statement, in defence of Mr. Froude's wish to replace the Anglican communion service by a translation of it:—'The *original* eucharistic form is with good reason assigned to the apostles and evangelists themselves. *It exists to this day* under four different rites, which seem to have come from *four different apostles and evangelists*. These rites differ in some points, agree in others. Among the points in which they agree, are of course those in which the essence of the sacrament consists. At the time of the Reformation, we, in common with all the West, possessed the rite of the Roman church, or *St. Peter's* Liturgy. This formula is also called the Canon of the Mass, and, except a very few words, appears, even as now used in the Roman church, to be free from interpolation; and thus is distinguished from the Ordinary of the Mass, which is the additional and corrupt service prefixed to it, and peculiar to Rome. *This sacred and most precious monument*, then, *of the apostles*, our Reformers received whole and entire from their predecessors, and they mutilated the tradition of 1500 years.'—*Letter to Dr. Faussett*, p. 46.

as a *pollution* (and it certainly does this, if it has a literal sense at all), it is wholly opposed to all the rest of the Old and New Testament.

In the whole of this article we have kept almost entirely on the ante-Nicene part of the work before us, for it is impossible to enter on all the questions which he brings forward, as to the doctrine of the church of England, the predictions of Christ, &c., to say nothing of the church of the fifth century. We can on the last point only observe in passing, that he appears to us unduly to set down the universal grossness of immorality at that time, to the discredit of the Nicene doctrine, without making allowance for Roman despotism. It is sufficiently certain, that if neither Christianity nor Gnosticism had ever existed, extreme dissoluteness would have marked the declining empire. To give comparative credit, therefore, to the *modern* church of Rome, because she would not *now* introduce, if she could, anything so bad into England, seems to us an unfairness to the Nicene divinity. The real fault here was, that the church, thirsting after power, sucked in the world with it. As to the question, What is the doctrine of the church of England? we presume that most of our readers will regard it as too plain to need argument, that it is decidedly protestant in spirit and intention, and that the points in detail, where an unhealthy policy dictated the preservation of Romish (or to speak popularly), popish peculiarities, constitute only exceptions to the general rule. Such are the formulas of ordination and absolution, as also the receiving of *Romish* clergymen without re-ordination, while *Lutheran* ordination is counted as nothing. Baptismal regeneration is a far more serious blot, or rather, deeply-seated sore, on which we cannot now enlarge. To dissenting readers, however, it is a great inconvenience that so large a portion of what is now become a large book, is occupied with subjects in which they can take comparatively little interest. At present, the second, third, and seventh numbers, and the latter half of the sixth, are those which are most likely to repay *our* readers for their money and time; and we have no doubt, that although our author imagines that he needs to correct in dissenters an extravagant application of the cry, 'The Bible alone!' he will confirm in the minds of his readers the only application of it which is received in any intelligent circles.

Art. II. *Memoirs of Jonathan Swift, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.* By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. With Notes. Edinburgh: Robert Cadell. Royal 8vo. 1841.

If an argument were wanted against the alliance between church and state, as manifested in this or the sister kingdom, we might point to those numberless instances of notoriously improper persons, obtruded into the offices of the sanctuary, which disgraced the last, or even the present century. Amongst them, however, no example can well be more striking than the subject of the following pages. He was at once the wittiest writer of his age, and perhaps the most staunch defender of what are called the rights of the clergy. Born under the profligate reign of Charles the Second, the indecency of that day, in connexion with its exclusive maxims, grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength. And yet with all this, there were elements of better things worked up in his extraordinary character, so that he appears on the page of history as a combination of paradoxes. We might imagine, if we were telling a fairy tale, that the Seven Mortal Sins had surrounded his cradle, and each breathed some vestige of its respective and peculiar iniquity into the development of his subsequent fortunes; whilst a few of the virtues also kindly attended on the same occasion, to neutralize rampant vices, or even illuminate the future Rabelais of an English generation. He fought his way to fame through poverty, neglect, oppression, misfortune, and obscurity. He lived to be the adviser of a Jacobite ministry, and yet a supporter of the house of Hanover. Abhorring both popery and nonconformity, with nearly equal bitterness, the exertion of rarely paralleled talents degraded, and yet defended that church, in which he was no less a dignitary than Dean of St. Patrick's. He detested Ireland and the Irish, whilst earning matchless fame and popularity as their advocate against all antagonists. His prolific pen spawned upon the public lampoons and fugitive pieces, too lewd and filthy to be now tolerated; yet they are interspersed with solemn sermons, and such affecting offices of devotion for a dying lady, that the somewhat doubtful taste of his biographer on all such matters, is ravished into ecstasies of admiration! The latter rather too frequently, indeed, exacts our attention to the marvellous piety of his hero, who contrived to have an intimate guest in his ecclesiastical residence for several months, without letting him discover that he had regular family prayers; who, through a morbid fear of hypocrisy, made his oratory an inaccessible garret; who, after officiating at his cathedral service in the

morning, would devote the rest of his day to practical jokes, and indelicate compositions; who 'was a devout believer in the truths of Christianity,' and the warmest friend and admirer of Lord Bolingbroke; who, according to Sir Walter Scott, was at the same time liberal and parsimonious, revengeful and forgiving; 'a constant observer of the rules of religion, and zealous, even to slaying, in the cause of the church of England,—although assuming such levity of writing, speaking, and acting, as caused him to be branded as an infidel, a contemner of public ordinances, and a scoffer at ecclesiastical discipline.' How singular an assemblage of anomalies! We shall now proceed to sketch their outlines for our readers, who, with ourselves, will award general assent to such statements as the following:—

'From the life of Swift may be derived the important lesson, that as no misfortunes should induce genius to despair, so no rank of fame, however elevated, should encourage its possessor to presumption. And those to whom fate' (Providence) 'has denied such brilliant qualities, or to whom it has refused the necessary opportunities for displaying them, may be taught, while perusing the memoir of this illustrious man, how little happiness depends upon the possession of transcendent genius, of political influence, or of popular renown.'—p. 2.

Jonathan Swift was descended from the younger branch of the Swifts of Yorkshire, and was born on the last day of November, 1667. His immediate ancestor was the Rev. Thomas Swift, vicar of Goodrich, in Herefordshire, and proprietor of a small estate in that neighbourhood. At the beginning of the civil wars, this worthy gentleman distinguished himself by extraordinary sacrifices for the sake of a worthless monarch, whose son and successor, soon after his accession, forgot both friends and enemies, remembering only himself. The Earl of Stamford commanded a regiment on the borders of South Wales, which seems to have committed all manner of enormities. They broke repeatedly, under the personal auspices of one Captain Kyrle, into the vicarage of Goodrich, and after plundering Mrs. Swift and her ten children, even to their very clothes, only one loaf was left in the house for the support of the poor mother and her family. The youngest of all was a naked infant, squalling in its cradle, being almost starved with cold, until its parent wrapped it up in a petticoat, taken off from her own person. This destitute boy, however, lived to grow up, and depart this life just before he would have otherwise become the father of the celebrated Dean; dying the same year that his son saw the light, as abovementioned, at a small house, No. 7, Hoey's Court, Dublin. The nurse to whom the young Jonathan was committed, happened to be a native of Whitehaven, whither being recalled rather sud-

denly through the death of a relation, she decamped with her tender charge, and kept him with her for three years. Her circumstances, through the receipt of a legacy which she had no doubt anticipated, became perhaps better than those of the mistress, whom she thus unceremoniously abandoned. The latter, nevertheless, followed her offspring, with at least good sense and affectionate wishes, for his health turned out to be so delicate, that rather than hazard a second voyage across the Irish channel, she consented that his residence should continue undisturbed for a time with the warm-hearted woman, who had given such a singular proof of her attachment. The nurse proved so careful with regard to education, that when the boy returned to Dublin, he was able to spell, and could read any chapter of the Bible, before the completion of his fifth year.

The widow Swift was in deep indigence, subsisting chiefly on the support afforded her by Godwin Swift, the eldest brother of her late husband. This gentleman had traded in the wide world, upon a stock of paternal loyalty, united to some personal talents, and no little common assurance. The office of Attorney-General to the Palatinate of Tipperary had been conferred upon him, after he had been called to the bar, under the patronage of the Duke of Ormond. It is even said that he married a distant relative of that nobleman. His revenues increased, but unhappily a spirit of speculation augmented also; so that after living in the midst of poor dependents, gaping for his bounty, his circumstances on his decease were ascertained to be embarrassed; whilst the wonder had always been, that he should not have done more for his nephew. That nephew held his remembrance neither in love nor veneration. The vinegar and gall of human life already had commenced their process of fermentation in his mind. Godwin had granted his widowed sister-in-law an allowance to the uttermost of his means. Young Jonathan attributed its narrowness to parsimony, instead of inability. His being born a posthumous child, and bred up as an object of charity, his bad temper, mingled with natural pride, and filial fondness for that only parent whom he ever knew, and whom he must often have beheld curtailing her own indulgences for the benefit of her boy, altogether began even now to affect his demeanour, and render him an Ishmael in the world. His uncle, he used afterwards to say, only gave him 'the education of a dog:' on which, Archdeacon Whittingham once told him, and told him justly, that he failed in having the gratitude of that faithful animal! At the age of six years, he went to school at Kilkenny, where his name, cut in schoolboy fashion, is still shewn to strangers. At fourteen, he was admitted as a pensioner into Trinity College, Dublin, where he vainly endeavoured to swallow and digest the absurdities

of logic and Aristotle. His spirit seemed both beyond his own years, as well as the slavish habits of his contemporaries. Tradition affirms, that a rough sketch of his 'Tale of a Tub,' was put by himself into the hands of an early friend. Meanwhile Godwin Swift died, and transmitted his thankless nephew to his younger brother and executor, Dryden William Swift. If Jonathan found, in this second uncle, not a more opulent patron than in his former protector, the manners of the new one were at least more agreeable to his taste: he has recorded him as 'the best of his relations.' Nor may we doubt, but that the most exalted generosity will ever derive considerable enhancement, when exercised in combination with genuine delicacy and magnanimity. The future wit was neglecting his regular studies, and diligently following his desultory ones. Poverty, too, worked with him at his elbow; and as necessity is not merely the mother of invention, but of much practical wisdom also, a severe system of economy became, from this period, a prominent characteristic in his habits. It is conceived, from many of his journals still existing, that he could have accounted for every penny of his expenditure during any year of his life, from the time of his being at college until the total decline of his faculties. On one occasion, his cousin Willoughby, settled in Portugal as a Lisbon merchant, assisted him with the remittance of 'a large leathern purse, full of silver coin,' through the hands of an honest sailor. Part of this treasure seems to have been unworthily expended at taverns and coffee-houses; yet, upon the whole, he already began to love money, either for its own sake, or the power which he perceived it to confer. His proud soul chafed against the injunctions of his superiors, as well as against the regulations of the university; whilst, at the same time, it needed constant employment. One of his comrades compared him to an evoked demon, which must be occupied, and that, too, generally in doing mischief.

The spirit and genius of satire had stamped him for their own, from the commencement of his career. No better objects for many a sarcastic effusion could well have been found, than the Fellows of Trinity College. These had no humility, and their tormentor shewed them no mercy. Hence arose implacable animosity between certain academical authorities and their rebellious subject. In going through his preliminary dissertation, he resisted even the necessary syllogistic forms. His degree of Bachelor was therefore conferred with a sign of disgrace attached to it. In less than two years, he incurred seventy penalties for non-attendance at chapel, neglect of lectures, absence from the roll-call, and sundry minor irregularities. Public punishments soon ensued. When just arrived at the age of manhood, he was convicted of insolence towards the junior dean, whose pardon he

was sentenced to crave in full consistory. He was not expelled; but as the war of the Revolution now broke out in Ireland, he came over into England, and travelled on foot to the residence of his mother, in Leicestershire. Being herself in a dependent situation, she could do nothing more for her son, than cordially solicit on his behalf the patronage of Sir William Temple, who knew her family, and was connected with one branch of it. That accomplished statesman listened to her request, and Jonathan Swift became an inmate at Moorpark for two years. It was long, however, before his patron thoroughly liked him; but as both knew gradually more of each other—as the prejudices of Temple diminished, and as the powers of pleasing increased in Swift, through observation, study, and society, the two great men drew nearer together. Swift frequently read and wrote at the rate of eight hours a-day; besides enjoying and improving his various advantages, in mingling familiarly amongst the leaders of the age; even with King William himself, on several occasions, at their head. His Majesty had conceived the highest regard for the contriver of the Triple Alliance, from his conduct in Holland; and whenever the gout confined Sir William to his apartment, during any of the royal visits, the duty of attending his sovereign devolved upon the private secretary. William is said to have paid Swift the personal compliment of offering him a troop of horse, and shewing him how to cut asparagus, in the Dutch fashion. Neither seemed so much to his taste, as a prospect now opening before his ambition of taking orders, and rising in the church. At this crisis, a bill for triennial parliaments was agitating the nation, and Temple did his best to render the crown favourable to the measure. Swift strengthened him in this constitutional effort, adducing several arguments from English history, and undertaking the delicate office of waiting upon William the Third, with the judgment of one of the best statesmen of his reign on the subject. Thus introduced at court, he witnessed for himself some of those secret mainsprings, which move the governments of the earth. From thence, he went to Oxford, where he was handsomely received; his name having been already recognised as that of a person of intelligence and learning. Here he took his degree of Master of Arts, brushed away any sense of slight which might have haunted him at Dublin, translated successfully an ode of Horace, attempted Pindarics on his own account, and received, with respect to these last, the sentence of John Dryden—'Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet!'—a dictum, by the way, which that cousin never afterwards either forgot or forgave. In fact, Swift was the very essence of unamiableness. Long before this, he adopted the custom of observing his birthday, not as an anniversary of joy,

but of sorrow; and of reading, when it recurred, that stirring passage of Scripture, in which Job laments and execrates the hour wherein it was announced, 'a man child hath appeared!'

His first residence at Moorpark now drew to a close, through Swift thinking Temple slower than he ought to have been in advancing his interests, and Temple considering Swift's impatience little else than ingratitude. Sir William offered him a civil employment in Ireland worth £100 per annum, which his dependent declined, conceiving better hopes from ordination in the established church. He therefore quitted his patron in dudgeon; but on applying to the Irish bishops for the fulfilment of his purpose, they required some certificate of his good conduct whilst under the roof of Sir William Temple. For this testimonial, therefore, he had to apply in 'a penitentiary letter,' which, whilst it cost him months of suffering before he could bring down his haughtiness to the task, nevertheless so well succeeded in the end, that a complete reconciliation ensued. Swift was ordained a deacon in October, 1694, and a priest in January, 1695; almost immediately afterwards obtaining the prebend of Kilroot, in the diocese of Connor. Its income was sufficient to render him an independent country clergyman; but although he had solemnly avowed that he was moved by the Holy Ghost to assume his sacred offices, their dulness in an obscure parish became utterly intolerable, and he returned to his former situation at Moorpark before the close of the year. Here he remained, upon a much more confidential footing than before, until the decease of his illustrious friend, on the 27th of January, 1699. Probably these years were amongst the happiest of his life. He had before his eyes a noble example of public and private virtue; an object both to love and to fear. His faculties were devoted to the service of one, whom he has himself described as 'universally esteemed the most accomplished writer of his time.' The literary controversy had then set in, concerning the superiority of ancient or modern learning, out of which was generated a still more celebrated contest about the Epistles of Phalaris. Swift drew up his 'Battle of the Books' in support of Temple, Boyle, and Oxford, against Wotton and Bentley, although it was not printed for years. He also now revised and perfected his 'Tale of a Tub,' wrote a copy of nervous verses on the conflagration of Whitehall, expended several shafts of ridicule on the common-place topics of general society, and formed his acquaintance with Esther Johnson, better known subsequently by her poetical name of Stella. Sir William bequeathed him a legacy of £100, and the editorship of all his works. They were dedicated to King William, whose memory was jogged at the same moment with regard to preferment at Canterbury, or Westminster, which he had

once promised the proprietor of Moorpark, for his confidential secretary. That promise, if ever made, now produced nothing; and Swift, with more qualifications for the place of a buffoon, than that of a clergyman, had to content himself with accepting an invitation from the Earl of Berkeley, one of the lord-justices of Ireland, to accompany him to that country in the joint capacity of chaplain, and private amanuensis. The rich deanery of Derry was there offered him, upon his paying a thousand pounds for it! He indignantly refused the bribe, but claimed the preferment; and on being refused both by Lord Berkeley and his secretary, he consigned them to righteous infamy 'as a couple of scoundrels.' A breach appeared inevitable, since Swift quitted the castle forthwith, to load the artillery of his revenge against its occupants. But the noble justice, who had smarted already in his reputation, from one or two cutting satires, preferred pacification to warfare, and at last effected something like a return to friendship. His lady was the daughter of the Baptist Noel of that day, Viscount Campden, and sister to the first Earl of Gainsborough. She and her daughters befriended their angry chaplain, induced him to retain his office, and keep up his intercourse with their family. The earl, moreover, presented him with the rectory of Agher, the vicarages of Laracor and Rathbeggan, and the prebend of Dunlavin. The produce of all these benefices united, amounted to an income under £200 a-year, but equivalent to about £600 per annum at present. Sir Walter Scott seems remarkably inaccurate in such matters, having stated his revenues at this period as between £350 and £400 a-year. The account-books of the Dean are still in existence, and the fact is ascertainable to a fraction, that in 1703, his professional returns came to exactly £197 16*s.*, of which, to his honour, he expended more than one-tenth in acts of benevolence and liberality. He was, however, already a rich man, in the sense of being able to procure everything which his circumstances required, with a handsome surplus over, through adherence to his rigid economy.

None could deny that his habits all along presented a tissue of oddity and peculiar humour. At the vice-regal court of Dublin, he was a clerical wag, most suitable to the society in which he found himself, had there been no eternity before him. But what shall we say to his 'Meditation on a Broomstick,' composed and read with infinite gravity, as an existing portion of a pious work by the Honourable Robert Boyle, 'which it seems Lady Berkeley used to request Swift to read aloud more frequently than proved quite agreeable to him'? It was, nevertheless, amongst the most innocent of his jocular exploits, in utter disregard as a clergyman of the apostolical injunction against that

'jesting which is not convenient.' He began to reside at Laracor in 1700, where his life shone out, according to his biographer, as sufficiently 'regular and clerical: he read prayers twice a-week, and generally preached upon the Sunday,' probably in the morning and afternoon alternately. 'Upon the former occasions, the church was thinly attended; and, it is said, that the ludicrous and irreverent anecdote of his addressing the church service to his parish clerk, occurred when he found the rest of his congregation absent upon such an occasion. The truth of the story has been disputed,' although Swift was far more likely to do such a thing, than Lord Orrery to invent it. Who can feel surprised at the Anglican episcopacy having so little laid hold of an augmenting Irish population? Yet the parish and rector of Laracor continue to derive some advantages from its having once been the abode of Jonathan Swift. 'He increased the glebe from one acre to twenty,' and the tithes of Effernock, purchased with his own money, were by his will settled for ever on his successors, with the curious and sagacious addition to the form of devise, that they should be enjoyed only 'so long as the established church lasted!' He made it a principal care to repair the dilapidations which the church and vicarage had sustained, through the carelessness of former incumbents. The external walls of the sanctuary had fallen into disgraceful decay, requiring a large sum out of his tithes for their restoration. On this trying point he shewed himself the reverse of being parsimonious. Everything was put perfectly to rights at his own costs and charges. He even added to his residence a pleasant garden; smoothed the banks of a rivulet into a canal, and planted willows in regular ranks by its side. 'These willows, so often celebrated in his Journal to Stella, are now decayed, or cut down; the garden cannot be traced; and the canal only resembles a ditch.' *Sic transit gloria mundi;* nor can it be declared, that their fate was not most richly deserved. Whatever relates to Swift, has acquired a sort of interest, through his literary rank as one of our British classics; but there is, of course, no reason which could justify us, as reviewers, in failing to mark with the brand of reprobation the many heinous irregularities of his character. Esther Johnson had now removed to Laracor. Swift had no sooner fairly settled in Ireland, than he commenced arrangements for rendering her also an inhabitant of that kingdom. She was her own mistress; and under such plausible pretexts as being able to procure higher interest for her money there, and being also 'near the friend and instructor of her youth,' she chose for her companion a Mrs. Dingley, and made her general home in lodgings at Trim, no great distance from Laracor. Whenever Swift forsook his parsonage, these ladies occupied it

as his tenants. Scandal was hushed or prevented through extreme caution. 'It is, however, highly probable, that between Swift and Stella there existed a tacit understanding that their union was to be completed by marriage, whenever his income, according to the prudential scheme which he had unhappily adopted, should be adequate to the expenses of a matrimonial establishment.' The young lady, being about eighteen only, with raven black hair, beautifully expressive features, a form of perfect symmetry, and possessing various talents and accomplishments, very soon had an admirer, in the person of Doctor William Tisdal. He was a neighbouring clergyman of high respectability, in habits of friendship with the vicar of Laracor, through whom, supposing him to be legal guardian to Miss Johnson, he honourably made his proposals. Swift had thus no other virtuous course open to him, than to state his own attachment to Stella, or resign her at once to another. He had the inconceivable baseness to do neither; but acting the part of a dog in the manger, he barked away his rival, without having the manliness to marry the object of his attentions himself, or let an end be put to that misery and mystification which, with all his worldly wisdom, was ultimately destined to involve the peace and reputation of both parties. From the time that Doctor Tisdal withdrew his addresses, Esther Johnson considered her destinies united with those of Swift. She never encouraged another suitor, nor ever quitted Ireland, except on a brief visit to England for five or six months, in the year 1705. It must be mentioned, and remembered also, that the subject of this paper was by no means insensible, by nature, to the influences of female attachments. He had already trifled with the happiness and fame of a Miss Jane Waryng, from whom he separated, after correspondence with her for four years. She appears in his works under the soubriquet of Varina. But the scene must now shift from love to politics.

His 'Tale of a Tub' made its earliest public appearance in 1704, of which the main purport is to trace the gradual corruptions of Romanism, and exalt the English Reformation, at the expense of both Popery and Presbyterianism. It was written to serve the high-church party, by gaining the laughers to its side; in which it undoubtedly succeeded; and which, in the opinion of Sir Walter Scott, is an object of first-rate importance. It might, perhaps, have been so in the reign of Queen Anne; but would assuredly not turn out so under that of Queen Victoria. Even a century and a half ago, the raillery incurred just reproach, as being far too light and lascivious for ecclesiastical, not to say religious discussion. Swift himself refused to own it, until, in an unconscious soliloquy, amidst the decline of his faculties, he was overheard to ejaculate, with an oath, after reading several

pages of the piece, 'What a genius I had when I wrote that book!' It wonderfully displays his whole mind as a Whig in politics, and a Tory in church principles; that is to say, such a Whig in the first, and such a Tory in the last, as the contemporaries of Harley and Bolingbroke alone ever saw on an expanded scale. Pure, or rather impure, selfishness lay at the bottom of the entire affair. His genius carried the sign of a spread eagle, wearing its claws and wings for both sides of that rampant aristocracy, which then, and for more than a hundred years afterwards, trampled under foot, and fattened on, the spoils of the liberties of three kingdoms. 'A Discourse on the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and Commons at Athens and Rome,' had attracted much attention in 1701; when Lords Somers, Oxford, Halifax, and Portland, were impeached by the House of Commons for their share in the partition-treaty. In the following year, Swift being in London, avowed himself the author of this popular pamphlet, which at once renewed his familiar intercourse with the highest circles. But it must also not be forgotten, that when he announced his attachment to civil liberty, as only second to that which he maintained for high-church views, these last involved then, which they do not now, an adherence to the principle of religious establishments. The vicar of Laracor could very well have written the leading articles in the 'Record' or 'Times' newspapers, on such subjects, had he been alive in our own days. He would have abjured the 'British Critic.' His notions of Christianity were essentially secular; although, whilst in the meridian of his reputation, all parties refused to recognise the existence of such an anomalous Centaur as a high-church Whig! 'He saw and felt the difficulty of preserving consistency in the eyes of the public, and busied himself, according to his own account, with projects for the uniting of parties, which he perfected over night, and destroyed in the morning.' One tract, however, escaped this condemnation, and 'The Sentiments of a Church-of-England man with respect to Religion and Government' appeared in 1708. Its fury in favour of the penal laws against nonconformity procures for it no slight praise from our gifted, but most prejudiced, biographer. Worldly writers can have no sympathies except with worldly affairs and worldly motives. The idea of religion being altogether a matter of the heart, and having no more need of assistance from earthly governments than the pillar of fire and cloud had from the Israelites in the wilderness, would have thrown poor Swift into one of those violent fits of vertigo in the head, to which he was so frequently liable, and which he attributes to a surfeit of stone-fruit at Moorpark. We regret having to record it, yet true it is, that this unhappy clergyman, rich in talents, and wretched in his

as his tenants. Scandal was hushed or prevented through extreme caution. 'It is, however, highly probable, that between Swift and Stella there existed a tacit understanding that their union was to be completed by marriage, whenever his income, according to the prudential scheme which he had unhappily adopted, should be adequate to the expenses of a matrimonial establishment.' The young lady, being about eighteen only, with raven black hair, beautifully expressive features, a form of perfect symmetry, and possessing various talents and accomplishments, very soon had an admirer, in the person of Doctor William Tisdal. He was a neighbouring clergyman of high respectability, in habits of friendship with the vicar of Laracor, through whom, supposing him to be legal guardian to Miss Johnson, he honourably made his proposals. Swift had thus no other virtuous course open to him, than to state his own attachment to Stella, or resign her at once to another. He had the inconceivable baseness to do neither; but acting the part of a dog in the manger, he barked away his rival, without having the manliness to marry the object of his attentions himself, or let an end be put to that misery and mystification which, with all his worldly wisdom, was ultimately destined to involve the peace and reputation of both parties. From the time that Doctor Tisdal withdrew his addresses, Esther Johnson considered her destinies united with those of Swift. She never encouraged another suitor, nor ever quitted Ireland, except on a brief visit to England for five or six months, in the year 1705. It must be mentioned, and remembered also, that the subject of this paper was by no means insensible, by nature, to the influences of female attachments. He had already trifled with the happiness and fame of a Miss Jane Waryng, from whom he separated, after correspondence with her for four years. She appears in his works under the soubriquet of Varina. But the scene must now shift from love to politics.

His 'Tale of a Tub' made its earliest public appearance in 1704, of which the main purport is to trace the gradual corruptions of Romanism, and exalt the English Reformation, at the expense of both Popery and Presbyterianism. It was written to serve the high-church party, by gaining the laughers to its side; in which it undoubtedly succeeded; and which, in the opinion of Sir Walter Scott, is an object of first-rate importance. It might, perhaps, have been so in the reign of Queen Anne; but would assuredly not turn out so under that of Queen Victoria. Even a century and a half ago, the raillery incurred just reproach, as being far too light and lascivious for ecclesiastical, not to say religious discussion. Swift himself refused to own it, until, in an unconscious soliloquy, amidst the decline of his faculties, he was overheard to ejaculate, with an oath, after reading several

pages of the piece, 'What a genius I had when I wrote that book!' It wonderfully displays his whole mind as a Whig in politics, and a Tory in church principles; that is to say, such a Whig in the first, and such a Tory in the last, as the contemporaries of Harley and Bolingbroke alone ever saw on an expanded scale. Pure, or rather impure, selfishness lay at the bottom of the entire affair. His genius carried the sign of a spread eagle, wearing its claws and wings for both sides of that rampant aristocracy, which then, and for more than a hundred years afterwards, trampled under foot, and fattened on, the spoils of the liberties of three kingdoms. 'A Discourse on the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and Commons at Athens and Rome,' had attracted much attention in 1701; when Lords Somers, Oxford, Halifax, and Portland, were impeached by the House of Commons for their share in the partition-treaty. In the following year, Swift being in London, avowed himself the author of this popular pamphlet, which at once renewed his familiar intercourse with the highest circles. But it must also not be forgotten, that when he announced his attachment to civil liberty, as only second to that which he maintained for high-church views, these last involved then, which they do not now, an adherence to the principle of religious establishments. The vicar of Laracor could very well have written the leading articles in the 'Record' or 'Times' newspapers, on such subjects, had he been alive in our own days. He would have abjured the 'British Critic.' His notions of Christianity were essentially secular; although, whilst in the meridian of his reputation, all parties refused to recognise the existence of such an anomalous Centaur as a high-church Whig! 'He saw and felt the difficulty of preserving consistency in the eyes of the public, and busied himself, according to his own account, with projects for the uniting of parties, which he perfected over night, and destroyed in the morning.' One tract, however, escaped this condemnation, and 'The Sentiments of a Church-of-England man with respect to Religion and Government' appeared in 1708. Its fury in favour of the penal laws against nonconformity procures for it no slight praise from our gifted, but most prejudiced, biographer. Worldly writers can have no sympathies except with worldly affairs and worldly motives. The idea of religion being altogether a matter of the heart, and having no more need of assistance from earthly governments than the pillar of fire and cloud had from the Israelites in the wilderness, would have thrown poor Swift into one of those violent fits of vertigo in the head, to which he was so frequently liable, and which he attributes to a surfeit of stone-fruit at Moorpark. We regret having to record it, yet true it is, that this unhappy clergyman, rich in talents, and wretched in his

abuse of them, really seems to have *abhorred* dissenters. In 1708-9, he published his 'Letter upon the Sacramental Test,' opposing, by every argument of reason and ridicule 'which his prompt imagination could supply, any relaxation of this important legal disability.' The honourable Whigs of course began to look cool upon him, as well they might, when they had discovered the author of so bitter a philippic. It was not known at first from whose pen it had proceeded; for an unfortunate parallelism existed between the authors of 'Gulliver's Travels' and 'Waverley,' with regard to the depth and extent of falsehood, intrigue, equivocation, and chicanery, in which both indulged, for the sake of literary concealment. Their imaginations had gathered around them such an atmosphere of illusion, that the outlines even of moral truthfulness were sometimes with difficulty to be discerned—an awful penalty, exacted from almost every mind which wilfully consents to waste or misapply its powers, in violating virtue, or invading the rights of mankind.

Swift displayed his zeal for the temporal interests of his order, by his actions, as well as his writings. At the suggestion of Bishop Burnet, her Majesty had granted the first-fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical preferments to augment the maintenance of the poorer incumbents throughout England and Wales. The clergy of Ireland wished for a similar boon; but their applications having been rejected, Archbishop King in 1708 employed the vicar of Laracor, who had been an active member of convocation, to solicit this favour from Queen Anne. He did his best; and although failing in his object at that time, he succeeded, as is well known, on a subsequent occasion. Meanwhile, having thus acted as solicitor and agent for the church of God, he remembered, like Richard Moneyplies, in the Fortunes of Nigel, that he 'had a sma' sifflication o' his ain!' In fact, he ventured to intimate to the magnates with whom he was in almost daily intercourse, that he considered himself nearly useless in Ireland, 'with an audience in a poor parish of half a score;' so that he felt willing to offer his services, as secretary to an embassy,—as Bishop of Virginia, with metropolitan authority over the colonial clergy,—as successor to the facetious Doctor South, whose speedy dissolution was then expected, which would have vacated a valuable prebend,—or even as an occupant of the sinecure post of royal historiographer. None of these plans answered the wishes of their framer; and it is said, that when Lord Somers wrote to the Earl of Wharton, the new Whig lord-lieutenant at Dublin, warmly recommending Swift for immediate advancement, his excellency forthwith replied, 'O my lord, we must not prefer or countenance such a fellow; *we have not character enough ourselves!*' Swift must have got some scent of this

answer, for the authenticity of which, besides the direct assertion of Doctor Salter that he saw the correspondence with his own eyes, there is the unappeasable animosity ever afterwards manifested towards Wharton, by the disappointed satirist. His visit to the British metropolis nevertheless produced a certain amount of good, in serving the cause of common sense; for it was the era of his celebrated attack upon astrology. One John Partridge, if that were his real name, was the editor of an Almanack, under the title of 'Merlinus Liberatus,' besides having published a variety of treatises to uphold the fabric of astrological imposture. To cure the evil, our author, under the signature of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., presented the world with his Predictions for the following year; in which, amongst other prognostications, 'with the most happy assumption of that mixture of caution and precision affected by these annual soothsayers, he announced an event of no less importance than the death of John Partridge himself, which he fixed to the 29th of March, about eleven at night.' The wrath of the Francis Moore of that day may be better conceived than described. An amusing controversy arose, which vastly entertained all classes, and rendered the assumed title of Isaac Bickerstaff so popular, that the Tatler was established under its shadow, to which Swift, amongst others, contributed; whilst Steele enjoys the honour of having been its projector and editor. It was the morning star, also, to the Spectator; so that from this period a warfare of wit commenced against coarseness and vulgar superstitions. Wizards from that time forward were starved out from at least the upper and educated classes; and their subsistence amidst the lower ones has been becoming year after year only more and more precarious. Early in the summer of 1709, he returned to his vicarage, sick of courts, saloons, and antechambers, 'dissatisfied with the inefficient patronage of those ministerial friends from whom he had only received compliments, promises, and personal attentions.' What else he could expect it was difficult to conceive, since those who knew him best had seen the seed of their suspicions already sprouting up from the black soil of greediness cooling over the lava of malevolence and slighted talents. Whiggery, in its own mind, wrote him down as an apostate. The snakes which Mrs. Masham and her coterie were about to hatch into vitality out of the compost of corruptions over which the last of the Stuarts brooded and reigned, might reckon on him, as they shortly demonstrated before the whole world, as their ablest coadjutor and advocate. His mother died, after a long illness, in May, 1710; on which he remarks, with an expression for him unusually pathetic—'I have now lost my barrier between life and death; God grant I may live to be as well prepared for it as I con-

fidently believe her to have been. If the way to heaven be through piety, truth, justice, and charity, she is there!' It would have been more satisfactory had we discovered that the purse and glebe of the popular author and beneficed divine were conscious of having contributed towards the relief of parental necessities.

After no very protracted interval, these kingdoms underwent one of those extraordinary political revolutions, which seem to stir up society from its depths, through a chain of causes, each more potent than its predecessor, but of which the incipient link appears out of all proportion, in its minuteness, as contrasted with the ultimate results. In fact, the increment of the momentum, as it passes forward, although it may be from a mere seeming trifle at the commencement, is in geometrical rather than arithmetical progression. Sacheverel, within a few months, was in his glory. The Whigs never have known how to treat the domineering church establishments of Great Britain and Ireland. They alternately coax and scold,—court and insult,—soothe and inflame,—flatter and abuse a system, which should be dealt with in a spirit of mingled caution and firmness. Their platform of political action never having been as yet sufficiently elevated to enable them to perceive that an alliance between church and state is what both Providence and Christianity have forbidden, they are always in a false position for taking their ecclesiastical measures. They either do too much, or too little, or nothing at all; which last was, we believe, the grand catholicon of Lord Melbourne, our late premier. The next phase of liberalism, when it comes into power, which will be the principle of reform in an advanced stage of development, may possibly know better, from past experience, how to proceed. Whiggism, which is in the way of being blown or snuffed out, has generally wanted either the courage of philosophy or the philosophy of courage. On taking the helm of the state, Somers, Halifax, Wharton, Orford, and Sunderland, discovered, just as their party always seem to discover it, as if not at all cognizant of the fact before, and therefore not being prepared for it, that the government has a termagant consort, who must be propitiated, supported, respected, sometimes almost worshipped, and at all times treated with the greatest delicacy. Thus it must at least be, if they expect any peace in the house during their inhabitation. It would at any period have thrown Whiggery into a catalepsy, to suggest a secret yet firm inquiry into the legitimacy, *ab origine*, of this infelicitous politico-ecclesiastical marriage. Lord Somers, who was one of the greatest sages of his day, never dreamt such a dream. He and his colleagues, constituting a perfect constellation of Whig leaders, the very Orion of the social firmament at

the commencement of the eighteenth century, with the customary ignorance and presumption of their party about all such matters, actually ventured, in the year 1710, to lay their irreverend hands upon the tail of the church establishment. The touch was immediately taken up, not as a blow, but as an insult. There was nothing about the measures of these men to cow the prelacy, but everything to arouse the insolence of the clergy, whose kingdom of Christ upon earth comprehended the loaves and fishes of ten thousand five hundred parishes south of the Tweed! An obvious and immediate consequence was, that Queen Anne, gouty and feeble, naturally allied to Toryism, and in her own proper person and habits the precisest type conceivable of an established or secularized church, waxed exceedingly irate and alarmed. The interests of religion were in her mouth; the expulsion of the Whigs was at her heart. The impeachment of a contemptible preacher, like Sacheverel, became a blunder, in the chapter of accidents, almost approaching the sublime! He had brayed a discourse of nonsense, which would have died away upon the ears of a few hearers or readers, when the ministry of that day so enacted the part of enchanted folly, that they turned the bray into a blast, which echoed over all Europe, and changed their entire power and authority into 'the baseless fabric of a vision!' Swift caught the signal, even in his retirement at Laracor; whence, with some awkwardly expressed regrets that his political friends were to be depressed, and some ill-concealed joy that his ecclesiastical ones were to be elevated, he flew like a vulture to the battle-field, arriving in London about the 9th of September, 1710.

Prepossessed, as he already was, with strong resentment at having been neglected, however reasonably, by the outgoing administration, he, nevertheless, resumed his intimacy with Addison and Steele, although refusing to pledge Lord Halifax, when he proposed as a toast, 'The Resurrection of the Whigs,' unless he would add, 'and their Reformation.' His old friends generally appeared ravished to see him; 'offered apologies for the mode in which he had been treated; and caught at him as a twig when they were drowning.' We should say, that had they clutched him, they would have found him a stinging-nettle for all future generations! He now knew his own value, and with his innate love of sarcasm, his genius might have gloated, and probably did so, on the many grimaces, and 'longing, lingering looks behind,' which the associates of the great Godolphin cast back upon the palace they were leaving. In fine, as they had treated Swift, so he now treated them. He had lampooned the late lord treasurer before the first of October, and on the 4th of that month was presented for the first time to Harley. By the

latter he was introduced to St. John; 'and the intercourse he enjoyed with these ministers approached to intimacy with a progress more rapid than can well be conceived in such circumstances.' His assistance could not be dispensed with by these two wicked statesmen, and ample, even almost humiliating, confidence constituted the only terms on which it could be procured. Political writers in that day were what leading journals are now, and the engagement of the vicar of Laracor, the author of the 'Tale of a Tub,' on their side, was the same sort of transaction, in its kind, though far more important in its consequences, than securing the support of the 'Times' would be amongst ourselves. The new ministers were wafted into power and office by the followers and abettors of Toryism, whilst Harley and St. John were afraid of being supposed, from having been a sort of hollow Whigs in their earlier career, to have rushed all at once, *per saltum*, as it were, to the furthest extremes of passive obedience and divine hereditary right:—

'Still they were under the necessity of availing themselves of the drift of popular opinion, as a boatman benefits by the current which bears him towards his haven, managing meanwhile, by sail and oar, so to moderate and control its impulse, that it shall neither hurry him beyond the point proposed, nor dash him against the adjacent cliffs. Under such difficulties, the talents of Swift to mould and moderate the tone of public feeling became of the last importance to the new rulers; and hence Harley laid aside his reserve, and St. John his levity, to vie in courtesy towards an author, whose principles in church and state had hitherto been those of moderation (qy?), and who combined the power of expressing and supporting his sentiments in a manner at once forcible and adapted to the capacity of the public. Swift, on the other hand, beheld the triumph of the church establishment, and saw with pleasure, that the affairs of state were now to be conducted by men whose tenets were ostensibly' (and as hypocritically) 'as favourable to liberty as his own. He saw, besides, an opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on those by whom he had been overlooked in the plenitude of their power; and from the influence of those mixed motives enlisted himself, with heart and hand, under the banners of the new ministers.'—p. 21.

What a picture, drawn by the able pen of a flattering biographer, of a genuine political clergyman, having left his cure of souls to the care of Satan, and come into the vortex of secular affairs, as the advocate of church establishments. He immediately undertook the conduct of the 'Examiner,' which St. John, Prior, Freind, King, and other Tory writers, had already commenced as the organ of Harley and his cabinet. The thirteenth number contained an avowed and violent defence of hereditary right in its most absurd extent. Addison had started an oppo-

sition periodical called the 'Whig Examiner,' from which he withdrew three weeks before the fiery zealot from Ireland entered the lists. The last was not long in falling most foully upon his former associates, whilst in tearing to pieces Sunderland, Cowper, Walpole, Marlborough, and Wharton above all, he disgraced himself and human nature, by heaping reproaches upon the virtuous Somers, whose old kindnesses towards his earlier fortunes were all forgotten, and even his undeniable public services held up to ridicule and scandal. Walter Scott, in the sweeping range of his charity for the criminalities of Toryism, surrenders his hero at this point, in the gentle admission that 'here he is least justifiable.' Meanwhile Swift did all that his patrons required of him. He was the Ajax of their phalanx, amidst the rancour, clamour, and inkshed, that ensued. His pen proved an invincible spear; and upon the brazen shield of what his biographer styles courage, but which we call shamelessness, he bore the main brunt of the conflict. Whatever vigour of attack and dexterity of defence could effect, he marvellously performed. His influence became a pervading mind, soul, and will, to his wretched party for the time being. With a readiness and versatility scarcely imaginable, he assumed every shape and suggested every manœuvre which could rally, organize, or inspire his friends, and at the same instant perplex or annoy their opponents. Not at all blind to the fact, that having the world, the flesh, and the devil, on his side, he must of necessity wield their weapons, he nevertheless wrote, printed, and published, with all his might and main, as if the existence of the religion which he thus professed and dishonoured had really turned upon every effort he made. 'His ready talent for popular poetry was laid under liberal contribution;' and the 'Rod of Sid Hamet,' which censured Lord Godolphin, seemed only the precursor of a cloud of lampoons, falling like poisoned arrows into the hearts of his antagonists. The 'opportunity of wreaking his vengeance,' which Scott mentions, must have been enjoyed by him, in a length and breadth of realization such as those only can estimate who have tasted the venom of his 'Short Character of Lord Wharton,' or the volumes of spleen and ire which his fearful temper and inexhaustible talents produced. His powers helped mightily to establish Harley in the good opinion, and almost in the affections, of his royal mistress, amidst the intrigues of a rotten aristocracy, the applauses of a drunken squirearchy, the benedictions of well-beneficed divines, and the shouts of an ignorant, misguided multitude. In return for such services he exacted wages, such as few would receive, and still fewer pay. For the mitre which he anticipated, and the deanery which he obtained, the vicar of Laracor appeared in no immediate hurry; but whilst his passions

revelled in literary and political revenge upon his foes, his pride demanded compensation and homage from his haughty, ambiguous, and reckless masters. He treated them, as every Mephistopheles or Allecto is supposed to act towards those who have summoned them from the pit—that is, with mingled servility and disdain. He appeared ready to take umbrage at the slightest shadow of caprice, disrespect, or restiveness. His manners with the most exalted noblemen or courtiers, wore the affected air, not merely of intimate familiarity, but domineering patronage. He once sent the prime minister into the House of Commons to call out the first secretary of state, 'only to let him know that he would not dine with him, if he dined late.' He, on another occasion, insisted that a certain duke should make him the first visit, just because he happened to hold the highest place in the peerage! None who know us will lay to our charge any aristocratic tendencies; but we feel, with every person of common sense, that such despotism over the usages of society betrays neither philosophy of mind nor genuine force of character. When Swift ostentatiously avowed that he despised high station, or adventitious advantages, his conduct proved that his needless avowal was to be read backwards. Bishop Kennet mentions the future dean of St. Patrick's in his diary, incidentally, but with great effect. We wish we had room for the extract, which exactly demonstrates what passed between Plato and Diogenes, when the latter, alluding to the carpet of the former, cried out, 'I am trampling upon the pride of Plato.' 'Yes,' said Plato, 'and shewing a far greater pride in doing so!' Swift was, of course, a loser in every way by this foolish conduct, and we consider the remarks of Lord Orrery respecting him to have been more accurate than those of the laird of Abbotsford.

> 'He was elated with the appearance of enjoying ministerial confidence. He enjoyed the shadow; the substance was detained from him. He was employed, not trusted; he imagined himself a subtle diver, who dexterously shot down into the profoundest regions of politics; but he was suffered only to sound the shallows nearest the shore, and sometimes scarcely admitted to descend below the froth at the top. Perhaps the deeper bottoms were too muddy for his inspection.'—p. 30.

Some of these 'deeper bottoms and muddy waters' might have involved designs for restoring the Stuarts, in which Swift appears to have had no direct participation, beyond his ardent friendship for Bolingbroke, which terminated only with death. He must have known enough, moreover, with regard to the results of any such restoration in Ireland; and that amongst them would be the cessation of his own dignity and preferments. The

grand palpable charge against him is, that with his eyes open, and in the teeth of former opposing associations, he had cast in his lot with bad men, who made worse ministers. On their behalf his best gifts were strained to the uttermost. When discontents were shaking the very foundations of Harley and St. John's conservatism, just as will soon be the case with our own present cabinet, the artfulness of Swift appeased the incipient mutiny, by his 'Advice humbly offered to the Members of the October Club.' In this masterpiece of political craftmanship, the dust of certain proportions of truth and falsehood, skilfully compounded together, blinded the vision of those who might have seen too far, and flattered the hopes of others, who magnified little matters into worlds of consequences, existing nowhere else than in their prurient imaginations. Then as to foreign policy, his pamphlet on the journey of Prior to Paris, his 'Conduct of the Allies,' his 'Remarks upon the Barrier Treaty,' were all first-class specimens of their respective kinds. These pamphlets passed through the land, as so many talismans of error, which made the worse appear the better cause, by putting bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter. Four editions of the second production were devoured by the public in a single week. It formed the text-book for the debates in the House of Commons, on the ministerial side. Its author was threatened with impeachment. His celebrated 'Representation of the Lower Chamber on the State of the Nation,' and the subsequent 'Address of Thanks to the Queen,' were his next ablest papers. His 'Examiners' meanwhile worked wonders. If he entered a coffee-house, he had a profound obeisance from all present. One may forgive his vanity for entertaining no less a project than the improvement of the English language, to which his own pungent, perspicuous, and idiomatic style, far more contributed, than all his recommendations of the scheme to Lord Oxford, or than could have been done by any society resembling the French Academy. He had already obtained the first-fruits and twentieths for Ireland, and protected or advanced several eminent literary men, for the general welfare. It seemed high time that he should secure for himself something more solid than bows in antechambers, and invitations to dinners, where he might say what he liked, and eat what he could get. Missiles also, something like his own, began to whistle about his ears. 'I will contract,' he says at length to the lord treasurer, on the 26th December, 1712, 'no more enemies till *I have got under shelter:*' and on another occasion he quotes an axiom of his grandmother, 'More of your lining, and less of your dining.' Now then came the trial as to how far his noble, affable, and right honourable masters felt *really* disposed to serve him. He struggled earnestly

for a bishopric, and failed. The Queen possessed just so far a sense of decency, that her mind revolted against any connexion being effected between the 'Tale of a Tub' and lawn-sleeves. Furthermore, her third grand favourite was the Duchess of Somerset, whom Swift, in a lampoon entitled the 'Windsor Prophecy,' had reproached for her having red hair, and being privy to the murder of her first husband. She could have forgiven the second offence; but the first inflicted a wound for which there was no atonement: so that when Lord Oxford and Mrs. Masham were about to confer the then vacant see of Hereford upon the exulting satirist, the duchess, summoning to her aid her friend the Archbishop of York, threw herself in tears upon her knees before Anne, and destroyed every chance of his obtaining English preferment. The crosier of Hereford went into other hands; not even a stall at St. George's could be procured; so that nothing remained but the deanery of St. Patrick's, for which the warrant was signed the 23rd of February, 1713. The post was both dignified and valuable, although he always pretended to consider it an honourable exile, since, relying upon his presumed indispensability to government, he had formerly and repeatedly declined an elevation to the Irish prelacy. In one word, he was more admired than loved, and discovered, rather late, that he had few real friends!

In an epic on the 'Miseries of Vanity,' the memoir of Swift might form a felicitous episode. We shall not dwell on his having to chew the cud of disappointment, amidst the desolations of a large unfurnished house at Dublin, where he describes himself 'as living in one corner of it.' He soon quarrelled with his archbishop and chapter, besides feeling grievously troubled at having to incur an outlay of about 1000*l.* sterling, before he could take full possession of the deanery, repair and furnish the house, and settle some necessary arrangements with his predecessor. For this necessary sum of money, he applied incessantly, both now and afterwards, to his intimates at the Treasury. We may feel certain, that however highly they appreciated his services, they remembered his eccentricities, to give them no harder name, and so they put him off with promissory notes, until their bubble burst, and left them bankrupt of all power and reputation. He was recalled to England, not long before that disaster, to reconcile Harley and St. John, increasing in the good graces of both, so far as words went; whilst Bolingbroke, in the royal closet, was gradually, though secretly, eclipsing Oxford. Once again he engaged in political controversy. His treatise on the 'Public Spirit of the Whigs' maddened that respectable section of society into some needless acts of anger; and as it reflected upon the Duke of Argyle, on Scotland generally, and on the

Union, such an impression came to be produced in the House of Lords, that a reward of 300*l.* was offered for the discovery of the author, whilst his bookseller and printer were solemnly ordered into the custody of the Black Rod. Jacobitism now getting the better at Court, Swift retired into the country and composed his 'Thoughts upon the Present State of Affairs.' The remainder of the political drama develops a painful page in our national annals. Yet it ended in the death of Queen Anne, and the enthronement of George the First. Swift adhered magnanimously to the charlatans whom he had espoused. All fell: some fled; others plunged into the abysses of oblivion, or were thrown into prison; whilst a few were to be tried for their lives before an indignant people. Aristocracy and prelacy triumphed, as usual, notwithstanding the agitations of the Scotch rebellion. Swift settled himself in his ample preferment, amidst the execrations of Whigs and Dissenters, both then pretty numerous at Dublin. He encountered the tempest of his temporary unpopularity, partly with scorn, partly with indifference, and partly with defiance or hostility, until, in the course of a few years, the tide of affairs again turned, so that he became, from a singular series of circumstances, more influential than ever. Opulence, moreover, began to shower into his lap its cornucopia of dubious advantages. He made up matters also with his ecclesiastical superior and inferiors, so that the sun of prosperity, after all, seemed to shine upon his head, and envy overawed itself into at least respectful silence.

Yet, from his own account, as well as that of others, there lived not a more miserable being. Milton has well said, that 'the mind is its own place;' and though externally his talents and position were drawing round him the homage of his contemporaries, the bitterest enemy he had ever made, could the hell within him but have been unveiled, must have relented into compassion, if not into tears. His selfishness proved an hourly tormentor, impaled as his poor heart was upon the points of bitter and ungratified passions! In other terms, he reaped as he had sown:

'He possessed, in an eminent degree, many of the qualities which are the surest passports to female favour. He was not only a man of the highest talents, but he enjoyed in full extent all the public notice and distinction which the reputation of such talents can confer. He moved in the highest circles, had been concerned in the most important business of the time, and had all the advantage of a name blown wide abroad in the world. In private society, the varied richness of his conversation, the extent of his knowledge, his unequalled powers of wit and humour, even the somewhat cynical eccentricities of his temper, joined to form a character, equally interesting from its intellectual merit and originality. His manners, in these his better days, were but slightly tinged with the peculiarities which afterwards marked them

more unpleasantly, and his ease and address were such as became the companion of statesmen and courtiers.'—p. 33.

The individual thus gifted had a person tall, strong, and well-formed, a dark complexion, but with blue eyes, and black, bushy eyebrows. An aquiline nose, with features somewhat stern and haughty, expressed that dauntlessness of character which the fairer sex certainly admire, and often love. Yet he was never known to laugh; so that no wonder his gentle followers rather dreaded, as well as admired. Amongst various ladies who sought their chief happiness in his company, Esther Johnson has been more than once mentioned in this article; a most attractive creature, who considered the vicar of Laracor, with the greatest justice and propriety, as entirely her own. For him, and at his suggestions, she had quitted her country, declined another suitor, and almost perilled her reputation. With her he perpetually corresponded, and to her the celebrated and familiar journal, known under the title of that to Stella, was regularly addressed, from Swift when absent in England. Yet throughout a large portion of this period, his heart was rotten to its core. He had seen in London a second Esther, whose surname was Vanhomrigh, better recognised, perhaps, under her fanciful appellation of Vanessa. Our clerical Adonis, according to his wicked custom in such cases, attached himself to her as an intellectual Mentor, if one might believe his hollow professions, he being on the shady side of forty, and the young lady not more than twenty. Her personal and mental attractions quickly made him feel that he could never prosecute the intimacy without cruel injustice to Miss Johnson. Vanessa, altogether ignorant that the object of her sincere selection lay under a prior engagement, let her affections go in the flowery but certain road to ultimate misery and disappointment. Not a shadow of blame can attach to her, or her rival. An atrocious traitor to both played them off, one against another, for his own gratification and pleasure. The romance which ensued would be deemed hardly suitable to our general taste, or that of our readers. All parties discovered that 'love is strong as death, jealousy is cruel as the grave; the coals thereof are coals of fire, which hath a most vehement flame.' According to one account, he went through the ceremony of a private marriage with Stella, to preserve her life, upon conditions unjust to the lady, and revolting to nature. Walter Scott receives this statement; although there occur many things to make it doubtful. In fact, clouds of mystery overhang every chapter in the dark story. Nothing appears certain but the extreme culpability of the dean—the misery and agony of the injured females—the premature death of Vanessa from a broken heart—the lingering anguish, terminated only by her dissolution, of Stella—

the remorse, through a protracted life, of Swift himself—and the bitter, yet pathetic memorandum, which he made on a ringlet of Esther Johnson, always kept by him, 'Only a woman's hair!' About the time when the clandestine nuptials were imagined to have occurred, Doctor Delaney observing Swift very gloomy and dejected, went to Archbishop King to mention his apprehensions. On entering the library, the very object of his fears rushed past him, with a countenance full of distraction, and without speaking. He found the Archbishop in tears, and upon asking the reason, he replied, 'You have just met the most unhappy man upon earth; but on the subject of his wretchedness, you must never ask a question!' His doggerel verses of this period, called poems by courtesy, deserve neither to be analysed nor enumerated.

From the Peace of Utrecht, to which he had in no slight degree indirectly contributed, down to 1723, he took an active share in the affairs of his cathedral, and studied several hours every day. Herodotus, Lucretius, Aulus Gellius, and Philostratus, seem to have been his favourite authors in the dead languages. That he borrowed from the last his idea of the Lilliputians in Gulliver's Travels, we think there can be little doubt. Any of our curious and learned friends, who may wish to satisfy themselves about the matter, will obtain a full view of it, by just comparing Gulliver on the ground, asleep after his landing, with Philostrat. Icon. lib. ii. cap. 22, pp. 846, 7, in the folio Olearian edition; or with passages better known in the works of Pliny, Elian, and many others. He boarded himself, for the sake of economy, with Mr. Worrall, whose wife preserved that neatness and good order which were always particularly agreeable to him. Two public days, however, were weekly kept up at the deanery, where, after dinner, Swift allowed himself about an English pint measure of tolerable claret; but when Lady Eustace or any other guests of quality honoured him with their presence, he used to allow them a shilling a head to provide their own entertainment, 'and would even struggle hard that only sixpence should go for the brat, as he called Miss Eustace.' His society, or at least his conversation, must have been marvellously attractive to have rendered such modes of intercourse tolerable; unless much may be allowed for the fashion of going to look at, or listen to, so eccentric a personage. He was fond of pranks of all descriptions, even the most childish. Anecdotes, scarcely credible, are related of his practical jokes. Amongst the least absurd was his treatment of the Grattans—a family to whom he grew strongly attached, but whose male members, together with other accommodating friends, he would chase in cold weather through his large apartments, or up and down stairs, with a whip in his hand, driving them like horses, until he had accomplished his

necessary quantity of exercise. We cannot forbear observing, that whoever got horsewhipped on such occasions, richly deserved it. By the servile submissions of perhaps well-meaning dependents, such domestic despots as Dean Swift are often made. Sheridan and Delany found their stock of good-nature, which was equal to that of most men, quite exhausted at last by the demands of this semi-insane humorist. In punning he has had few competitors; none probably could surpass him. A lady had thrown down with her mantua a valuable Cremona violin, when he immediately applied to the circumstance that verse from Virgil—

'Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!'

The comfort which he gave an elderly gentleman who had lost his spectacles, was more grotesque: 'If this rain continues all night, you will certainly recover them in the morning betimes.

'Nocte pluit totâ—redeunt *spectacula* manè!'

His occasional visits abroad, with an immense correspondence carried on whilst at home, occupied part of his leisure. In 1720, he came forth once more upon the stage as a political writer, and in a better cause than before. He still professed that he adhered stoutly to the Hanoverian succession, although holding intercourse principally with extreme Tories. So also, announcing everywhere his prejudices against Ireland and Irishmen, he, nevertheless, now used his pen on their behalf with invincible spirit and energy. England had assumed the power of legislating for her dependent kingdom. The statutes of the 10th and 11th William III. prohibited the exportation of Irish woollens except to British or Welsh harbours; by which preposterous measure, certain manufactories in Ireland were ruined to the extent of £1,000,000 per annum. Nor did this iniquitous tyranny constitute more than a single item in a long course of contumelious injury exercised by the strong country towards the weaker one. Swift now published his 'Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures,' utterly rejecting and renouncing everything wearable that comes from England! It was a measure of immense boldness, and the grand juries of the county and city were soon instructed by the time-serving tools of Government to present the pamphlet as a 'seditious, factious, and virulent libel.' A trial of the printer terminated in a glorious triumph for the friends of justice. The spirit of an oppressed people commenced that deep response to the calls of patriotism, which we have lived to see still more successful. The proposal of a national bank, coming as it did soon after this affair from a very questionable quarter, also roused the satire of the Dean; who appealed so strenuously

to the lower house of parliament at Dublin, that the project, conceived as it doubtless was for dishonest or exclusive purposes, fell to the ground. Many other minor opportunities turned up for the suppression of various abuses, through gibbeting them for public inspection; all which received due attention from the divine of St. Patrick's; his quills being ever ready, like those of the porcupine, to dart at a nuisance, and drive it, if possible, into annihilation.

All these, however, must yield the palm, in point of importance, to his 'Letters of a Drapier against Wood's Copper Coinage.' Walpole had granted in 1723, upon certain conditions, to one William Wood, a patent right of coining halfpence and farthings, to the extent of £108,000, to be current in Ireland. Now George the First kept a couple of infamous mistresses, who were the 'two daughters of the horseleach, crying Give—give!' To the Duchess of Kendal, one of these women, and by far the most rapacious, the patentee had promised a handsome slice of the profits, having, in fact, procured his contract altogether through her disgraceful influence over the sovereign. Neither had the minister, acting officially in the matter, condescended to consult the lord-lieutenant or the Irish privy council; but on the suggestion of a royal harlot, had devolved, upon an obscure individual, one of the highest privileges of the crown. Wood seems to have acted honestly in the affair, so far as the emission of handsome and genuine halfpence was concerned; but the entire nation thrilled with the insult of the transaction from the noble and powerful Whig family of the Brodericks down to the coalporters and scavengers of Dublin. Whilst the struggle was impending, Swift published his incomparable Letters, 'strong in argument, and brilliant in humour, but unequalled in the address with which those arguments are selected, and that humour applied.' They ran like wildfire through the land. From Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, nothing seemed talked of but Wood's abominable copper, and the eloquence and wit of the Drapier. The despotism, which for thirty years had held down a spirited people, might have bent, but could never break, the honest harp of Erin; and when circumstances thus occurred which re-strung its chords, a clergyman, who was the oddity of his age, threw his hand across them with such exquisite skilfulness and nature, that tyranny itself turned pale, if it did not actually tremble. Every day the fermentation waxed more formidable. Both the Irish houses of parliament plucked up courage to address the throne against the new coinage. Tradesmen refused to receive or pass it. The nearest relations of the patentee felt obliged to disavow their possessing a shadow of participation in the business. From the wealthy and pompous corporation of the city, as well as from the

various commercial companies, memorials were circulated, and hostile associations formed. Swift fanned the flame with ceaseless ballads and prose satires, seasoned with all the bitterness and pungency of his sarcasm against the unfortunate ironmonger, and his patrons and patronesses in England. The Duke of Grafton, as viceroy, foresaw a civil war, unless Walpole gave way; which, so far was he from thinking of at first, that he issued a proclamation limiting the issue, upon the supposition, that by diminishing the magnitude of an abuse, its principle might seem to be sanctioned against some more favourable opportunity. The Dean quickly exposed this; and in his fourth letter ventured to bring before the public the true point of difference betwixt the two countries. Was Ireland, or was she not, a mere dependency of England, in whose parliament she possessed no representation? The cabinet of London threatened coercion, unless her subject, yet sister island, should forthwith succumb; but 'the remedy,' writes the Drapier, 'is wholly in your own hands, and therefore I have digressed a little, in order to refresh and continue that spirit so suitably raised amongst you, as Irishmen; and to let you see that by the laws of God, of nature, of nations, and of your country, you are, and ought to be, as free a people as your brethren in England!' No finer appeal to original rights had then ever been uttered in the world; nor has it been rivalled since, except, perhaps, by the Declaration of American Independence. The Dean having pronounced his oracles, Dublin, Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, said 'Amen' to them! A reward was offered by Government of £300, for the apprehension of so daring a patriot; yet, though his printer was thrown into gaol, (the name of the man was Harding,) and Lord Carteret was sent out to supersede the Duke of Grafton, it was quite manifest that the oppressors would be disappointed.

When the bill against Harding was about to be presented to the grand jury, Swift addressed to that body his 'Seasonable Advice;' exhorting them to remember the league made by the wolves with the sheep, on condition of their parting with their shepherds and mastiffs; after which they ravaged the flock at pleasure. Ireland looked on with greedy eyes and ears. Her champion was plainly the person really struck at in the prosecution against Harding. A Quaker, moreover, admonished his fellow-citizens, in an apt quotation from Scripture, 'Shall JONATHAN die, who has wrought this great deliverance in Israel? God forbid: as the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground, for he hath wrought with God this day; so the people rescued Jonathan, that he died not.' In vain an arbitrary Lord Chief-Justice denounced and threatened; the jury returned a verdict of *ignoramus*, and thus fulfilled the expecta-

tions which had been formed of them. Letter after letter now appeared; and Lord Carteret yielded to the tempest. It was well he did so. Wood surrendered his patent, and the Drapier was immortalized; his name became the watchword of liberty; his head ascended into a sign, like one of the royal family; his portrait was engraved, woven upon handkerchiefs, struck upon medals, and displayed in every possible manner. A club of patriots existed for many years in his honour. A thousand popular benedictions attended his footsteps, and if he visited a town where he was not usually resident, a princely reception always awaited him.

Here one could desire that the curtain might drop; although twenty years more of life remained in store for him. We need, perhaps, do little more than just enumerate his subsequent fortunes, without dwelling upon them. With Mrs. Dingley and Miss Johnson he retired to Quilca, a secluded residence belonging to his indulgent and intimate friend Dr. Sheridan. Here he trifled away life in pursuits below the dignity of a dean, the character of a divine, or the tastes of a scholar. A visit to England afforded him an audience with Walpole, and an introduction to the Prince and Princess of Wales. Returning back to the routine of his cathedral, he astonished the world by publishing 'Gulliver's Travels,' with respect to which, a brief extract may be ventured upon.

'Perhaps no work ever exhibited such general attraction to all classes. It offered personal and political satire to readers in high life, low and coarse incidents to the vulgar, marvels to the romantic, wit to the young and lively, lessons of morality and policy to the grave, and maxims of deep and bitter misanthropy to neglected age, or disappointed ambition. The plan of the satire varies in the different parts. The voyage to Lilliput refers chiefly to the Court and politics of England; and Sir Robert Walpole is plainly intimated under the character of the premier Flimnap, which he afterwards probably remembered to the prejudice of the Dean's view of leaving Ireland. The factions of High-Heels and Low-Heels express the different sections of Tories and Whigs; the Small-Endians and Big-Endians, the religious divisions of Papists and Protestants; and when the heir-apparent was described as wearing one heel high and one low, the Prince of Wales, who at that time divided his favour between the two leading political parties of England, laughed very heartily at the comparison. Blefescu is France; and the ingratitude of the Lilliputian court, which forces Gulliver to take shelter there, rather than have his eyes put out, is an indirect reproach upon that of England, and a vindication of the flight of Bolingbroke and Ormond to Paris. Many other allusions may be traced by those well acquainted with the secret history of George the First. The scandal, which Gulliver gave the Empress by his mode of extinguishing the flames in the royal palace, intimated the disgrace of

the author with Queen Anne, founded upon the indecorum of the 'Tale of a Tub,' which was remembered against him as a crime, whilst the service which it had rendered the cause of the high church was forgotten. It must also be remarked that the original institutions of the empire of Lilliput are strongly recommended, as also their system of public education, whilst it is intimated that all the corruptions of the Court had been introduced during the three last reigns. This was the genuine opinion of Swift concerning the English constitution.'—p. 123.

In the voyage to Brobdignag, he has merely produced a happy effect by turning the telescope, and depicting Gulliver, who had formerly been a giant among the Lilliputians, as a pigmy amidst this tremendous race. The monarch of these sons of Anak personifies the ideas entertained by Swift, as perhaps also by his friend Bolingbroke, of a patriot-king. Some passages of the court of Brobdignag were aimed against the maids of honour, so styled, at a court somewhat nearer home. The voyage to Laputa was considered as a caricature upon the Royal Society; nor can it be denied, that there are some allusions to the most respectable philosophers of that period. Even Sir Isaac Newton is shot at, for the offence he had given, as Master of the Mint, to the Dean of St. Patrick's, when he assayed Wood's halfpence, and pronounced them of the proper value. In this department, too, of his curious fable, he scrupled not to borrow largely from Rabelais. It was not, however, real science which Swift intended generally to attack, but rather those chimerical and spurious studies, with which that venerable name had been too frequently disgraced. His voyage to the land of the Houyhnhnms, was neither more nor less than an anatomy of his own heart, and a presentation of it, with all its filthiness, blackness, and misanthropy, to the public. In his melancholy account of the Struldbrugs, he also contemplated the dark shadow of that horoscope, which fell before him through the decline of life, as he sank gradually into paroxysms of madness, or the stagnation of hopeless idiocy.

Once more he revisited England, to make one last attempt at obtaining preferment, within reach of London and literary society. It was all in vain; for who would strain a point to serve the satirist, whose hand, or whose pen, was against every man? Stella, moreover, now closed her clouded and sorrowful days. Swift was never the same afterwards. He broke, too, with the royal family and their minister. Irish affairs occasionally produced able pamphlets; and so great continued to be his influence at Dublin, that the lord-lieutenant felt constrained to consult and listen to him on many most important occasions. Other miscellaneous prose writings, with sundry Hudibrastic versifications, consumed his hours. His income had grown considerable; for

in addition to and accumulated out of his official revenues, he had saved ten thousand pounds, notwithstanding an indulgence of every desire of his mind, and the generous disbursement of handsome sums in annual or daily charities. His residence at Gossford, under the hospitable roof of Sir Arthur Acheson, called out some gleams of his now rapidly darkening powers; for we cannot agree with Sir Walter Scott, that his best pieces of poetry were written between 1730, and 1735; at least in any other sense, than that, according to Dryden, Swift being no poet at all, practice had enabled him to go through the labour of voiding verses with greater facility than before. He resolved, however, at all events, to go off the stage with his armour on; for he now threw himself into the thickest of the fray, both with dissenters on the one side, and the Irish bishops on the other. He wrote also his 'Rhapsody on Poetry,' and the 'Verses on his own Death;' carried on a furious quarrel with Serjeant Bettesworth; composed his satire called 'The Legion Club;' entered into the controversy about lowering the gold coin, with the greater zest, as it gave him the means of annoying Archbishop Boulter; and drew up, or materially revised, his 'History of the four last years of Queen Anne.' Alas! his own last days were now approaching; those, we mean, of which he could no further say, 'there is any pleasure in them!' Remorse had, for a long while effected heavy inroads upon his constitution. Even as early as 1717, the author of the 'Night Thoughts' found him one day fixed as a statue, earnestly gazing at a noble elm, which, in its uppermost branches, was much withered and decayed; pointing at it, Swift said, 'I shall be like that tree, I shall die at the top!' Lord Orrery also mentions how often, when he dwelt in conversation upon the period of mental imbecility which shut in the lives of Marlborough, Somers, and other distinguished contemporaries, it was with a deep and anxious presage of his personal destiny. He had long resolved to bequeath his fortune for the foundation of a lunatic hospital, which object, by his last will and testament, dated 3rd May, 1740, was duly accomplished. A kind and affectionate female relation waited on the closing scenes. His fits of periodical giddiness and deafness returned with augmented frequency and violence, so that for the space of three years, he was only known to have spoken once or twice, at the utmost. He expired on the 19th day of October, 1745, so quietly, that his attendants could hardly recognise the precise moment of his dissolution. It could not be said that he departed without tears, for all Ireland wept. They generously overlooked his vagaries and his prejudices, remembering nothing but the dauntless Drapier. Young and old of all ranks surrounded the hearse to pay their last tribute of sorrow and affection. Even

his grey locks were purloined from his coffin, before it was finally screwed down, and privately interred in the great aisle of St. Patrick's cathedral. His epitaph had been previously drawn up by his own pen, and may be transcribed as not an unfair illustration of his temper, talents, and character, allowing for his very imperfect apprehensions of civil and religious rights and wrongs.

'Hic depositum est corpus
JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
Hujus ecclesiæ cathedralis
Decani :
Ubi sæva indignatio
Ulterius cor lacerare nequit :
Abi viator,
Et imitare, si poteris,
Strenuum pro virili libertatis vindicem.
Obiit anno 1745,
Mensis Octobris die 19.
Ætatis anno 78.'

We have only to add, that whilst fully admitting, as we do, his varied intellectual powers, together with the influence which he was permitted to exercise upon our language, through certain excellences of humour, style, and criticism, yet we nevertheless think that Sir Walter Scott has far overrated them. Swift was altogether a paradox; and, in our judgment, a most unamiable one. We agree with Lord Jeffrey, that 'he was extremely ambitious, arrogant, and selfish; of a morose, vindictive, and haughty temper; with a general demeanour in public and private life anything but exemplary.' It is not a little singular, that he should have been the occasion of no less than fifty new churches being erected in London; for which really good service, Bishop Blomfield ought to suspend his portrait in the palace at Fulham, and, for aught we know, may have already done so.

Art. III.—1. *Book of the Poets. Chaucer to Beattie.* 1 vol. pp. 458. With forty-five Engravings. London: Scott, Webster, and Geary. 1842.

2. *Book of the Poets. Modern Poets of the Nineteenth Century.* 1 vol. pp. 490. With forty-five Illustrations. London: Scott, Webster, and Geary. 1842.

IT is only of late years that the sister-arts of the poet and the painter have fully learned how close is the affinity between them, and in how various and important ways each may minister to the effect of the other. Every day seems now to furnish fresh proof of

the happy union of which they are naturally susceptible; scarcely any work of merit, capable of pictorial illustration, is issued from the press without at least some appeal to the skill of the painter and the engraver; indeed many works owe almost their sole recommendation to attractions which the author's pen could not have conferred upon them.

Such is the taste for pictorial embellishment, and so completely has it seized upon every branch of literature at all susceptible of it, that we are almost justified in the anticipation that all our standard works, whether of poetry or prose, fiction or history, will in time be issued in this attractive and beautiful form. Many, and those of no slight extent, have already been illustrated in the most profuse and costly manner. A few engravings, a frontispiece, or a vignette or two, of inferior design, and slight in execution, will no longer satisfy either the enterprise of our publishers or the appetite of the public.

When we consider the many works which have already been invested with this new species of interest, and further take into account their magnitude as well as their number, it will be seen that it is not easy to predict the extent to which this novel taste will be indulged. The engravings with which these different works are embellished, are, it is true, of very different orders of merit; but they are alike profuse in all, and in every case add prodigiously to the interest and value of the works which they adorn. Among the principal, which at this moment suggest themselves to our recollection, (and their extent and number, though our catalogue is very incomplete, absolutely fill us with surprise at the enormous capital which must already have been engaged in this species of literature,) are the following:—'The Pictorial Shakspere,' 'The Arabian Nights,' 'The Pictorial Bible and Commentary,' 'The Pictorial History of England,' 'The Pictorial History of Palestine,' 'Rogers' Poems,' 'Froissart's and Monstrelet's Chronicles,' 'Wordsworth's Greece,' 'Wilkinson's Ancient, and Lane's Modern Egyptians,' 'Davis's China,' 'Cook's Voyages,' 'Gulliver's Travels,' 'Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield,' 'Byron's Childe Harold,' and 'Lockhart's Spanish Ballads.' A new edition of the Waverley Novels is, we see, just projected, which is to surpass every other work of the kind, both in the number and the costliness of its illustrations. To the above list (which might be greatly enlarged) might be added a long catalogue of scientific works, encyclopædias, and dictionaries, such as that of 'Classical Antiquities,' or that of 'Science, Literature, and Art,' (both of which are just completed,) in which the art of the engraver is called into requisition almost in every page. Most of the above works have been offered to the public at a cost comparatively so moderate

as to make us wonder not less at the progress which the art of engraving must have made, and at the increased facility and cheapness with which the artists must accomplish their work, than at the rapid progress of popular taste for such classes of works. There cannot be a more striking proof of this than is found in the fact, that the new edition of Walter Scott's novels will cost very little more than the edition published a few years ago in forty-eight volumes, though the latter contained but ninety illustrations, many of them very poor ones, and the former is to contain two thousand.

The two volumes which stand at the head of this article will sustain a comparison with almost any of the pictorial works of the present day. They consist of selections from a large body of our principal poets, accompanied with a short biographical notice of each, and a general historical introduction. They are illustrated by ninety engravings, all in steel, by the first artists, many of them exquisitely designed, and as exquisitely executed. Of these we shall speak presently, when we have said a few words on the selection itself. It professes to be an almost entirely new selection; and we must do the editor the justice to say, that he has fulfilled his pledge. We have, in fact, been much surprised in comparing this selection with others—that of Ellis, for example,—to find how few pieces contained in the one are to be found in the other. In fact, we wish the editor of the present volumes had not so rigidly acted upon this principle, since, owing to it, we have reason to regret the omission of some universal favourites; such, for example, as the L'Allegro, and Il Penseroso of Milton, which, as being short, complete in themselves, and affording the happiest scope to the art of the engraver, would seem to be particularly suited to such a selection as the present. They are omitted in these volumes, we presume on the ground of their being so well known. We are aware, of course, how desirable it is to avoid what is hackneyed and common-place in such a selection; yet, considering the very different object of this selection from that contemplated in every previous compilation of the same kind, (we mean that of illustrating the creations of the poet by the creations of the pencil,) we do not know that we should have been disposed to attach much weight to this consideration. We think we should have chosen those compositions, whether well known or not, which afford the amplest scope to the skill of the artist. At the same time, we feel that considerable discretion must be conceded to the judgment of the editor, the difficulties of whose task we can well understand; and it would be both unreasonable and ungrateful to complain that in a work of such limited extent, all is not included which every one would like to see there, and

scarcely less so, that some few pieces of indifferent merit are inserted, which might just as well have been left out. This last sin of 'commission' is, it is true, far less venial than that other of 'omission.' Yet even here too we can understand and make liberal allowance for the editor's difficulties. Not only will he wish to avoid giving what is already to be found in every other selection, and thus occasionally be induced to insert what is of somewhat inferior merit, provided it is less familiar; but in order to make his selection of names as complete as possible, he will be tempted to diminish in number, or abridge in length the citations from the great masters, for the purpose of making room for some specimens, however short, of inferior writers. It is for this reason, we presume, that we find short specimens from some writers (more especially of the eighteenth century) whose claims to be ranked amongst our poets we should altogether dispute. In the extracts, for example, from Edmund Smith and John Pomfret, we cannot discern a single gleam of poetry; they are as dull and heavy as the dullest and heaviest prose, and we would willingly exchange them, as well as some others, for some further specimens from our great masters of song—from Spenser or Milton, Thomson or Cowper. By the bye, we observe that Shakspere, whose miscellaneous poems would have furnished some most beautiful and faultless specimens, has been strangely forgotten altogether.

Upon the whole, however, we cheerfully and gratefully admit that the editor has executed his delicate and difficult task with taste and judgment, and has given us a selection embodying a very large proportion of the best productions of the best authors—more indeed than we should have thought had been left unappropriated by previous compilers. The volume from Chaucer to Beattie contains specimens, more or less extensive, from more than a hundred writers. Their names, were we to insert them, would convince the reader that he is invited to no scanty or meagre bill of fare.

The second volume, which is somewhat larger than the first, is confined to the poets of the present century, and it is impossible to peruse the list of names without being astonished at the mass and variety of excellent poetry to which this short period has given birth. There is little good poetry stirring now, it is true; little has been produced indeed for some years. The English muse seems exhausted; but if her lyre should be silent for the remaining half of the century, enough has been already done in the former half to immortalize it. The writers from whom selections are given are forty-three in number, and several of them are not unworthy of comparison with any poets England has produced, if we except the unapproachable names of Shakspere and Milton.

We trust that these two fair volumes are not the last which we may expect from the enterprise which has given us them; heartily do we wish that the patronage of the public may be such as to justify the hope. We would suggest that at least another volume of equally beautiful extracts might be compiled from the poets who flourished between Chaucer and Beattie. A great many excellent poets have, in the present selection, been passed over altogether. To give an idea of the resources still untouched, we may remark that of the writers from whom extracts are given in Ellis's selection, (which, however, terminates with the reign of Charles II.) hardly one half are cited in the present volumes. It is true indeed that many in Ellis's selection would hardly furnish specimens for such volumes as these, but many of them would; and even if none of them were resorted to, there are abundant materials in our greatest poets alone to furnish an exquisite volume or two on the plan of the present selection; and still better, if that plan were a little extended; we mean if each passage were selected expressly with a view to pictorial embellishment, and always accompanied by such embellishment. What delicious reading would be a series of volumes containing all the choicest passages from the whole range of our greater poets selected systematically with a reference to the pencil, and as profusely and fancifully illustrated with engravings on steel and wood, as the Arabian Nights, the Pictorial Shakspere, or the forthcoming edition of the Waverly Novels! We content ourselves with throwing out the hint; happy, thrice happy shall we be if any publisher should be induced to act upon it.

We would also suggest to the publishers of these volumes, whether they might not be followed by one containing selections from our *dramatists*. Unhappily, that class of authors is such that they cannot be recommended to the indiscriminate perusal of the young, and yet they are full of such transcendent beauties that it is mournful to think that their pages should be wholly sealed. Such a selection would, moreover, have the advantage of embodying a far larger portion of matter unfamiliar to general readers. There are many copious selections from our poets; not one that we know of from our dramatists. But we must return to the present volumes.

The 'general introductions' to both volumes are on the whole, very well written, though here and there a little ambitious in point of style; they contain a good deal of sound criticism, with far less of the vague and general than such 'introductions' usually content themselves with.

Before we dismiss the compiler, we must express our surprise at two oversights. One is that a certain celebrated poem, (from which a few stanzas are given) is inserted under the head of

Coleridge, it being certain that as a whole, and with the exception of a few lines which none can with certainty point out, it belongs to Southey, who has laid a formal claim to it. The other is, that the beautiful lines, 'The spacious firmament on high,' &c. are attributed to Addison; we thought it was pretty generally known that these lines, though first brought under the eye of the public in the Spectator, were the production of Andrew Marvell.

We must not close this article without enriching our pages and amusing our readers with one or two short specimens; and, as in this unpoetic age, little is thought of but politics, our two principal shall be on that all engrossing subject the 'Corn Laws.' The first is from the 'Corn Law Rhymes' of Ebenezer Elliott, and is a beautiful imitation of one of the most pathetic of the Scotch songs.

SONG.

Where the poor cease to pay
  Go, loved one, and rest,
Thou art wearing away
  To the land of the blest.
Our father is gone
  Where the wrong'd are forgiven,
And that dearest one,
  Thy husband, in heaven.

No toil in despair,
  No tyrant, no slave,
No bread-tax is there,
  With a maw like the grave.
But the poacher, thy pride,
  Whelm'd in ocean afar;
And his brother, who died,
  Laid butcher'd in war;

And their mother, who sank,
  Broken-hearted to rest,
And the baby who drank
  Till it froze on her breast;
With tears and with smiles
  Are waiting for thee
In the beautiful isles
  Where the wrong'd are the free.

Go, loved one, and rest
  Where the poor cease to pay,
To the land of the blest
  Thou art wearing away.
But the son of thy pain
  Will yet stay with me,
And poor little Jane
  Look sadly like thee.

The other is of a very different description, by Moore, and i entitled 'Corn and Cotton.' We heartily hope that the augur with which it concludes may be soon fulfilled.

'COTTON AND CORN.

'Said Cotton to Corn, t'other day,
As they met and exchanged a salute;
(Squire Corn, in his carriage, so gay,
Poor Cotton, half famish'd, on foot;)

'Great Squire, if it isn't too much,
To hint at starvation before you;
Look down on a poor hungry wretch,
And give him some bread, I implore you!

'Quoth Corn then, in answer to Cotton,
Perceiving he meant to make *free!*
Low fellow! you've surely forgotten
The distance between you and me.

'To expect that we peers of high birth,
Should waste our illustrious acres,
For no other purpose on earth,
Than to fatten curst calico-makers!

'That bishops to bobbins should bend,
Should stoop from their benches' sublimity,
Great dealers in *lawn* to befriend
Such contemptible dealers in dimity!

'No, vile manufacturer! ne'er harbour
A hope to be fed at our boards;
Base offspring of Arkwright, the barber;
What claim canst thou have upon lords?

'No—thanks to the taxes and debt,
And the triumph of paper o'er guineas;
Our race of Lord Jemmys as yet,
May defy your whole rabble of Jennys.

'So saying, whip, crack, and away,
Whisked Corn in his chaise through the throng,
So headlong, I heard them all say,
Squire Corn will be down before long.'

We must find room for the following beautiful lines of Leigh Hunt, which though not entirely free from that poet's affectations of manner, are exquisitely beautiful. Had he always written thus, he would deservedly have ranked in the very first class of modern poets.

TO I—— L—— H——, SIX YEARS OLD, DURING A SICKNESS.

Sleep breathes at last from out thee,
My little patient boy;
And balmy rest about thee
Smooths off the day's annoy.
I sit me down, and think
Of all thy winning ways,
Yet almost wish, with sudden shrink,
That I had less to praise.

Thy sidelong pillow'd meekness,
Thy thanks to all that aid;
Thy heart in pain and weakness,
Of fancied faults afraid;
The little trembling hand
That wipes thy quiet tears;
These, these are things that may demand
Dread memories for years.

Sorrows I've had, severe ones,
I will not think of now;
And calmly, 'midst my dear ones,
Have wasted with dry brow;
But when thy fingers press,
And pat my stooping head,
I cannot bear the gentleness,
The tears are in their bed.

Ah! firstborn of thy mother,
When life and hope were new,
Kind playmate of thy brother,
Thy sister, father, too.
My light where'er I go,
My bird, when prison bound,
My hand-in-hand companion,—no
My prayers shall hold thee round.

To say, 'He has departed,'
'His voice—his face—is gone,'
To feel impatient hearted,
Yet feel we must bear on;
Ah! I could not endure
To whisper of such woe,
Unless I felt this sleep ensure
That it will not be so.

Yes, still he's fixed, and sleeping!
This silence too the while!
Its very hush and creeping
Seem whispering us a smile;

Something divine and dim
Seems going by one's ear,
Like parting wings of cherubim,
Who say, 'We've finish'd here.'

Of the engravings by which these volumes are adorned, we cannot speak too highly. The landscapes are many of them very beautiful; and we may mention with especial commendation those which are prefixed to the extracts from Wordsworth's 'Waggoner,' Gray's ode to the 'Spring,' Burns' 'Cotter's Saturday Night,' Spenser's 'Fairy Queen,' 'Somerville's 'Chase,' Chaucer's 'Palamon and Arcite,' Cunningham's 'Evening,' Butler's 'Hudibras,' Thompson's 'Seasons,' and Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel.'

It is needless to say that we wish these volumes may have an extensive circulation. They are delightful company in the drawing-room.

Art. IV. *Congregationalism; or, the Polity of Independent Churches viewed in relation to the State and Tendencies of Modern Society.* By Robert Vaughan, D.D. Second Edition. pp. 218. Jackson and Walford.

THERE are three very distinct classes of dissenting ministers. The first is composed of a few, becoming every day fewer, who do not belong to the established church, chiefly because they were not brought up in it, and because they desire a little more official liberty than it would allow them. A trifling change in their early circumstances, and a more trifling one in their views, would have saved them all the sufferings and sacrifices of dissent. They are mostly marked by the ease with which they detect, and the zeal with which they denounce anything *ultra*, or *vulgar*, or *absurd*, in the proceedings of their brethren upon ecclesiastical matters, having a desire almost morbid, not to injure the establishment by any legal enactments, or offend its supporters by any manifestations of disbelief or of dislike. This class is dying off. It cannot exist well in days when the polemical spirit runs so high as it does now, and is likely to do for some time to come. Another class consists of men, perhaps equally indebted to their circumstances for their dissent, but whose dissent is of a very different order. They are ignorant, and therefore violent; they see nothing good in any communion but their own, and scarcely know why anything is good in that. They retard the progress of their principles by the miserable shallowness of many of the arguments they use in support of them. They are often men, who in

other churches and under other influences would be persecuting bigots. This class, too, we rejoice to believe, is becoming less, and as a higher order of ministerial education is promoted and insisted on among us, it must be discouraged, and hasten forwards to entire extinction. To the third class belong men of firm and fixed opinions respecting church polity, but at the same time too philosophic and too candid not to perceive and admit that 'wisdom will not die with them,' who are not afraid or ashamed of preaching and publishing their ecclesiastical views, while they conduct the controversy as gentlemen and as Christians. They differ from the first class in having clear and well-defined principles in opposition to the establishment of Christianity, and in being wise and honest enough to avow and diffuse them, and from the other class in that they have too much knowledge to be uncharitable, and too much faith to be impatient.

Dr. Vaughan belongs to this last class. He is a congregationalist, not simply because the letter of the Christian records points out the practices which that word imports as having been primitive, but because in his principles of ecclesiastical polity he can trace a deep alliance with all that is just and gracious in moral truth, wise and useful and generous in social government — an alliance which proves those principles to be designed for a perpetual and universal application, because capable of it, thus separating them from what may be esteemed the local and conventional principles of Christ and his apostles. His opinions are the stronger, and not weaker, for being thus comprehensive in their grounds, and gathered from the expressions of the Divine will in the human and social revelation, as well as the verbal. The man who believes a thing because it is in the Bible may doubtless have a strong faith, but he who understands *why it is there*, will have a stronger. Dr. Vaughan is not one of those who would pour a sweeping condemnation over all churches and ministries that do not exactly realize all their conceptions of what is proper, or scriptural, whose eyes cannot discern any natural tendency to evil in their own system, or who have no calm respect and unaffected charity for the arguments or prejudices of those who oppose it. He is too well convinced of his own opinions to be peevish towards their foes, has too great a respect for truth to feel contempt for conscientious dissidents.

The work before us expresses and proves all this. It was our happiness, accidentally, to hear the chief portion of it in the form of an address, and seldom have we listened to an address with which we were more entirely satisfied. The calm philosophy of the views, the liberality and yet dignified decision of the spirit, and the frequent eloquence of the style, combined to afford a treat of no common order. We went away from it with

a deeper confidence in our principles, and with no less love to any one. In its present form, we give it a joyful welcome, and bid it a right earnest 'God speed.' It is just the book which a man ought to write in the nineteenth century, and, in our view, the best of all Dr. Vaughan's publications.

The design and scope of the volume are original. Amidst all the expositions and defences of congregational principles which the world has seen, there has never yet appeared anything of the kind. We are not greatly surprised at this, but are very glad that so serious a deficiency has been in part supplied. Christianity is the highest reason; it is the gift of the Infinite Intellect, and it is designed for the intelligent offspring of that Almighty Mind. We may be sure, therefore, that its disclosures and institutes will harmonize with the pure dictates of the human understanding, and will foster and empower its strong and healthy tendencies, whether individual or social. The religion and the politics of the New Testament must embody and express a true philosophy, for they contemplate the guidance and consolidation, not destruction or alteration, of our mental powers. It can never be a vain and useless labour to reveal the precise and perfect mode in which the moral and ecclesiastical provisions of the gospel dovetail with the constitution of man. There are none who may not be benefited by it, while there are always some minds that require, and can appreciate, such displays of truth, more than any utterances of simple authority, however sacred. But in the present day it is especially necessary that such displays be made, because there is a prevailing taste for philosophical discussion. We do not assert that the philosophy of the day is more profound than it used to be, considering its means and advantages, but only that it is more common and wide spread; there are many more philosophers, or men who think they are, or wish to be such. Any one accustomed to mark and compare the different periods of society and literature, must be fully aware that there is a less and less disposition to be satisfied on any subject, independently of a perception of reasonableness and utility. All truth possesses both these attributes, always did, but now the general demand is, that they be made to appear. Time was, when men inferred that such and such things were reasonable and useful, because they were true; men now infer them to be true because they see them to be reasonable and useful. This is felt and acted on by the advocates of all systems. Even those that pay least respect to human reason, and most to mere authority, feel and do homage to the spirit of the age. Right or wrong in their views of the intellectual, moral, and social wants and dictates of our common nature, they still feel it necessary to do something to establish those views, and to point out the harmony between those views and the conceptions of

God and of his church. The grounds of this necessity may be easily supposed to exist, and in still greater strength, in quarters where our own peculiar sentiments are held, or where the greatest likelihood is that they will be. We are therefore glad that Dr. Vaughan has sent forth this book, and accept it as the first published attempt, but only the first, to place congregationalism in a light in which many minds, though no books, have placed it already.

The first part of the book, consisting of the address delivered by Dr. Vaughan last year before the Autumnal Meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, more directly realizes the title, and abounds with the fruits of wise and careful thought. Congregationalism is considered in relation to *modern society*, its general state, and marked and prominent tendencies. Dr. Vaughan believes, with Lord Bacon, that we are the ancients, not our distant forefathers; that the present world is to the world long ago, as the mature age of a man is to his childhood, and consequently that the main characteristics and impulses of society now are to be regarded with more respect, as being more just and true than any that have been. In proportion as the world becomes more perfect, will they mould and fashion it. They are the elements whose full development will constitute its social millennium: they are the forces by which it will be wrought up into a state of beauty and order. To show that congregationalism approves of and aids them, is to show that it is good, while the circumstances under which it was first given to men prove that it is divine. We must quote some excellent remarks upon this subject:—

'One of the most philosophical and richly endowed minds ever applied to the study of our history, has spoken of that memorable groundwork of English liberty, the Magna Charta, in terms, which, in this respect, are eminently applicable to the nature and destiny of the principles of church polity contained in the New Testament. 'It is observable,' says Sir James Mackintosh, 'that the language of the Great Charter is simple, brief, general without being abstract, and expressed in terms of authority, not of argument, yet commonly so reasonable as to carry with it the intrinsic evidence of its own fitness. It was understood by the simplest of the unlettered age for whom it was intended. It was remembered by them; and though they did not perceive the extensive consequences which might be derived from it, their feelings were, however unconsciously, exalted by its generality and grandeur. It was a peculiar advantage that the consequences of its principles were, if we may so speak, only discovered gradually and slowly. It gave out on each occasion only so much of the spirit of liberty and reformation as the circumstances of succeeding generations required. For almost five centuries it was appealed to as the decisive authority on behalf of the people, though commonly so

far only as the necessities of each case demanded. Its effect in these contests was not altogether unlike the grand process by which nature employs snows and frosts to cover her delicate germs, and to hinder them from rising above the earth till the atmosphere has acquired the mild and equal temperature which ensures them against blights. To have produced it, to have preserved it, to have matured it, constitute the immortal claim of England on the esteem of mankind.'

'With this distinguished historian and statesman, we may suppose that the Barons at Runnymede were far from perceiving the extent of that vast system of liberty and improvement which history has shewn to have been virtually included in the great charter. We may conclude, that at best, the dim outline only was before them. But the seeds of political justice, wisdom, and humanity, contained in that document, have grown with our growth, and strengthened with its strength; and with every step in our advancement as a nation, it has only seemed to become possessed of a new appropriateness and value.

'What has been thus said with regard to the political principles of the great charter, may be said with still greater truth in regard to the principles relating to social religion set forth in the New Testament. When knowledge, virtue, and piety shall have been diffused and augmented so as to realize the most sanguine visions of the philanthropist and the seer, then will congregationalism be found in alliance with the state of things most favourable to a development of its beauty and power. Its nature is such, that its ripeness must come with the world's ripeness. The manhood of the species will be seen in that day, and with it the putting away of childish things; but the change which will prove fatal to a thousand inventions which human imbecility has worshipped, will be as life from the dead in respect to the pure and rational institutes of holy writ, as they will then be seen in their fitness to assimilate earth more and more to heaven.

'It is admitted that the 'saving health' of the gospel is not suffered to be dependent on the complexion of its outward institutions. God, we are happy to believe, has his renewed minds, his saved men, in every communion. The religion of the cross may bear long with human infirmity in such matters. But when the world shall make its nearest approach toward the social state which the most enlightened and humane have ever laboured to promote, then will come its nearest conformity to the laws of a pure congregationalism. God has so devised this system, that the province of man in social life will ever be—not to amend, but to copy it; not to go beyond it, but to follow after. The system will not change, but it will seem to enlarge, to improve, and to brighten, as the world shall be made to possess a greater aptitude for receiving it. The condition of society, which is always especially to be desired, is that in which men shall be most observant of the maxim, 'Whatsoever ye would that others should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,' and with such a state of society, the spirit and letter of congregationalism must ever perfectly harmonize.

'How instructive is this view of the religion of Holy Writ. It can extend its infinite blessedness to men in all conceivable diversities of

outward condition and observance. It descends to the weakness of the present; it will rise to the strength of the future, and will be ever in advance of that strength. It possesses a universal adaptation. It has harmonized with all that is good in the past, and it is capable of harmonizing, in the same manner, with all that is, and with all that shall be.

'Remember, too, where this system originated—not among the republics of Ancient Greece, but under the shadow of the Asiatic despotisms; not in connexion with the philosophical indifference of Ancient Rome, but in Jerusalem, the city where the narrowness, intolerance, and formalism of a degenerate people had long made the name of the Jew a proverb and a loathing.

'Nor is this result to be regarded, as in the case of our great charter, as being, in great part, at least, a sort of lucky accident. It is announced to us as proceeding from the Divine foreknowledge, as the work of design; and this elevation of society at large to the spirit of a Christian brotherhood, as depicted in the principles of congregationalism, is to partake of the nature of a fulfilled prophecy. We may be well assured that such superiority to local and temporary prejudice would not have had place in the scheme of an impostor. It is the work of the Divine prescience and wisdom, and everywhere breathes the divine benignity.

'The chief design of the subsequent chapters will be to illustrate and confirm this general representation. With this view, reference will be made to some of the more obvious of the beneficial tendencies which now characterize society generally, and it will be made plain that congregationalism is not only in harmony with them all, but that, in respect to them, while there is very little that it can learn, there is much that it can teach.'—pp. 5—10.

This is the author's design, and he prosecutes it by considering Congregationalism in its relation to 'Popular Intelligence,' 'The higher departments of Learning and Science,' 'The Arts of Peace,' 'The Principles of a Representative Government,' 'The Free Intercourse of Nations,' 'The Principles of Union as acted upon by Independent States in ancient and modern times,' by comparing it with the episcopalian system in reference to ministerial efficiency in England, and by describing its condition and prospects. These chapters we commend to the thoughtful perusal of our readers. The second part of the volume consists of several chapters occupied with remarks upon various matters connected with the general subject. 'The character of the efforts now made to punish Protestant Nonconformity, and to crush and destroy it;' 'The public press in its relation to Congregationalism;' 'The Claims of the Church of England as viewed by Episcopalians and Congregationalists, and on the true state of the controversy between these parties;' 'The mixture of Politics with Religion, and the opinion of Alexis de

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outward condition and observance. It descends to the weakness of the present; it will rise to the strength of the future, and will be ever in advance of that strength. It possesses a universal adaptation. It has harmonized with all that is good in the past, and it is capable of harmonizing, in the same manner, with all that is, and with all that shall be.

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Tocqueville concerning the union of church and state;' 'The slowness of religious improvement, with its analogies in nature and providence;' 'Suggestions concerning certain improvements in the practice of English Congregationalists,' form the matter of the various chapters of the second book. They abound in the 'words of the wise,' eminently suitable to the times in which we live. Would that our opponents, as well as our friends, would carefully peruse them. If the spirit and reasoning of Dr. Vaughan cannot produce the sentiments which Christian controversialists and the members of Christian sects should entertain towards each other, nothing can. Our space will only allow of a few observations upon one or two of the topics touched upon in this part of the work.

The first chapter is a calm and masterly exposition of the arguments against persecution, and British persecution in particular. We rejoice that in the second edition Dr. Vaughan has greatly enlarged this portion of his book. We can hardly imagine a greater service that might be rendered to the cause of truth and charity just now than the general circulation of this chapter, which has been printed in the form of a tract. There are but few neighbourhoods where its wholesome reasonings and dignified rebukes are not required by the prevalence of a church spirit and conduct as low in nature as high in claim. Our satisfaction has been full while seeing the 'Modern Persecutors' arraigned as aliens from the spirit and letter of British law, and of the British constitution; as doing more than any other class to strengthen the feelings opposed to Christianity and to subordination among the people of Great Britain; as laying a bounty upon religious hypocrisy, and that in the immediate exercises of divine worship; as proceeding in their conduct on the odious maxim, that it is well to do what is wrong in morals for the sake of what is right in religion; as making the institutions of a particular church, of greater importance than the Christianity common to all churches; as contracting an awful measure of that kind of guilt which attaches to the men who sent the protestant martyrs to the stake; as pursuing a course which, being contrary to the will of God, and to the rights of humanity, must in the end be attended by discomfiture and shame. These are grave charges, but charges which may be easily sustained against a large party of the members of the English establishment.

The chapter upon the slowness of religious improvement contains many admirable remarks, and remarks much needed. The present state of congregationalism is not such as its friends must desire, though as good perhaps as, considering the whole case, they have had any right to anticipate. It has never had fair play—never been free from circumstances of great disadvantage,

in this country. It has been and is *dissent*—not simply a mode of church polity, but one differing from a prior, and popular, and powerful system of ecclesiastical government. It has had all the inconveniences of being *new* and opposed to the established and the strong. It found men's minds pre-occupied by ecclesiastical ideas and pledged to ecclesiastical practices. It is no easy thing to break down any kind of truth into a new soil for a national mind. In the present case, it was necessary to displace much for ever without providing any substitute; sentiments had to be renounced and customs abandoned—not because others were right, but simply because they were wrong. Congregationalism aimed to bring men to the simplicity of the primitive church and faith, and this could not be done except by denuding them of many a venerable image, and mystic right and lofty claims—for all which it gave nothing, had nothing to give. Its own simple and uncostly service and moral ministry, and inartificial and just government, would leave many a void in minds long used to the complicated superstitions and priestly forms of other systems. Men never like to part with religious faiths and customs unless for others; the change from faith to unbelief is painful. Considering these things, we are not distressed by the past progress of congregationalism, though there are many other things to be considered having the same bearing. Congregationalism has progressed, notwithstanding all—greatly progressed. It has sometimes suffered 'heavy blows and great discouragements,' it has been 'pressed almost above measure and beyond strength, so as to despair even of life;' in some localities it has become extinct, where once it prospered; but nevertheless its great principles have been gaining a deep hold upon the British mind; where it has lost its particular form it exerts a glorious power; some branches may have perished, but its roots have spread; it has recoiled like the waves, but advanced like the tide. Its present position is one of hope and promise; but we cannot but know that many are by no means resigned to what we believe to be the stern necessities of the case. They expect too much, and the inevitable consequence will be disappointment and depression. We have no right to look for the triumph even of truth apart from the faithful service, the earnest and affectionate labours of its friends. It must be diffused or it cannot be known; its evidences must be revealed, or it will not be received. What is wanted now pre-eminently, is not the noise and bustle of a great movement, but a great movement without any noise or bustle at all. The propagation of right sentiments is the only way of securing their universal prevalence. Many, no doubt, are not prepared for this; they dislike every appearance of ecclesiastical warfare; they would sit

still, trusting to the much praised power of truth for its final dominion; but the peace they seek is dishonourable to that very truth. The time is not come for peace. Nothing but harm can come of the doing of nothing. To adopt the exquisite language and splendid imagery of a living writer, 'However dispiriting may sometimes be the variety and conflicts of human sentiment—however remote the dissonance of controversy from that harmony of will which would seem essential to perfected society, it is through this very process that the great ends of improvement are to be attained. Hereafter it will be seen, much more clearly than we can see it now, that opinion generates knowledge. Like the ethereal waves, whose inconceivable rapidity and number are said to impart the sensation of vision, the undulations of opinion are speeding on to produce the perception of truth; they are the infinitely complex and delicate movements of that universal human mind, whose quiescence is darkness—whose agitation, light.'

The last chapter of Dr. Vaughan's book touches upon delicate, but most important ground, suggesting several modes of improving the practice of English congregationalists. We only wish here that the judicious author had gone further while he was about it. We know of no one in whose hands such a subject would or could be safer, and therefore regret that he did not rebuke more evils than have found a place in this chapter. What he has done will hardly occasion any or very serious differences of of opinion. There is great difficulty in the way of carrying out some of his advices, at least in the present generation, but no objection of any moment can be urged against them. What he says respecting the philosophy of manner, the admission of church members, early communion, plurality of ministers, new chapels, deserves the attention of all our churches and all our pastors. But we must refer more particularly to one subject, early communion, upon which we cannot do better than extract what our author has written.

'My impression, also, has long been, that we have been disposed to err in regard to the time of admitting the greater number of the members of our churches, quite as much as in regard to the mode of so doing. The interval from the age of fourteen or fifteen to that of one or two-and-twenty, is the space during which the character of most persons is found to take the complexion which is to distinguish it through life; but in our general practice, it seems to be regarded as a mark of prudence, rather than otherwise, to allow that interval to pass in a state of indecision, the question as to becoming visibly one with the church of God, being left to be determined when the years of minority shall have nearly or altogether passed. In such cases, it is too commonly found that all these years of delay have been so many

years of mischief. The policy which has placed the visible profession of religion in abeyance so long, has put the mind into a state of listlessness with regard to everything religious. It has seemed natural to conclude, that the particular act which might be delayed thus indefinitely, must be a matter of comparatively little importance; and the mind thus unpledged to religion, has been left open to parley with a multitude of things contrary to religion. The approved doctrine appears to have been, that youth must not be regarded as capable of consistency, and that the period of youth, accordingly, should be viewed leniently, as carrying with it a sort of licence to inconsistency. In consequence of this grave practical error, the minds of young persons often acquire the habit of listening to the most solemn appeals from the pulpit with feelings of indifference, the current of thought being, that it is not at present, but some years hence that it will be, especially proper in them to bestow on such subjects a devout attention. In the meantime, the void left by the want of a religious habit is imperceptibly filled up by the formation of a worldly habit; and as the period of majority approaches, which was to have been that of a decided piety, we too often perceive the growing indication of a strong repugnance to it: the seed time has been slighted, and the harvest has failed. The ingenuousness and freshness of early youth have been allowed to pass away, with little effort to give them a hallowed discipline and object; and with manhood have come its sophistries, its hardness, its intentness on other things.

'It may be said, But surely you would not have the church of Christ consist of children? Is it not plain that the objects of the Christian fellowship can be realized only by those who are capable of discharging its duties, and does not the discharge of those duties clearly require, not only incipient Christian feeling, but real Christian intelligence?

'My answer is, that I am far from supposing it to have been intended that the church of Christ should consist of children; but, at the same time, I must be allowed to demur strongly to the doctrine which would limit the privileges of the Christian fellowship to persons of a strictly adult age. The Christian church, as regards the body of its members, was, no doubt, meant to consist of men and women. But it is the flock of Christ, and the lambs of the fold should be included in it. Inequalities with regard to spiritual intelligence, and to competency in respect to a discharge of the duties of the Christian fellowship, will be found to exist in as marked a degree in churches consisting exclusively of adults, as in those embracing a wider compass of youth and age. We may preclude the young, and do little toward precluding, or even abating the distinction between the weak and the strong. The youth of sixteen, without the pale of the church, may sometimes be on a level, in this respect, with the man of sixty, who is within it. The question concerning wisdom and folly is not always a question of years. Nor should it be forgotten, that it is a part of the lessons which the young are ever to be learning among us, that youth, in the general, should defer to age; and that affairs which require ex-

perience and wisdom to manage, should be left, for the most part, to the management of the experienced and the wise. We do not expect the young or the feeble-minded of any age, to be as pillars in God's house. But we would have our youth planted early in the house of the Lord, in order that, in time, they may flourish in the courts of our God. Be sure of it, our churches would not be less scriptural, nor less rational in their character, were they made to include a greater number of both sexes, in a more tender age than is usual, from our congregations. In such case, the main difference would be, that many who are now lost to congregationalism would grow up in attachment to it; and, which is infinitely more important, many who are now lost to religion altogether, would be saved to participate in its blessedness both here and hereafter!

'It has been found, I believe, in practice, that the experiment, as some would deem it, of admitting the young to communion at an earlier age than is permitted in some connexions, is one which may be safely made. In general, the persons so admitted have worn well, becoming the ornament and stay of the churches which took them under an oversight so truly Christian, at an age when it was so greatly needed. In this manner the church has reaped as it has sown, becoming as a field which the Lord hath blessed.

'We are not great admirers of the observance known among our episcopalian brethren by the name of 'confirmation;' but we do not scruple to say that we attach great importance to the object which that rite was intended to secure. It was meant to follow in the train of that Christian instruction, to which baptism was understood to be initiatory; and it pointed to an early age in youth as the period when it should be the aim of devout parents to bring their children to a responsible and serious profession of religion. We scarcely need say that we attach little value to such religion in the young as consists in repeating the commandments, or in answering questions from a catechism; but the custom would be most seemly and Christian that should dispose us to look upon our youth with feelings of painful disappointment, if found reaching their fifteenth or sixteenth year without affording indications of solicitude to give themselves publicly to God and to his people. No man acquainted with the manner in which the young are generally confirmed in England, and communed in Scotland, can need be cautioned in respect to the danger of seeing such a practice degenerate into a foolish and delusive formalism; but the object is good; it is only discrimination in the prosecution of it that is wanting. It may be a foolish and a pernicious thing to bring the young, almost without exception, at a certain age, to the Lord's table, as a matter of course; but surely it does not follow from that fact, that it would not be a wise and a wholesome thing to endeavour to bring as many of the young around as possible to participate in that service, as consequent on their possessing an early instructed mind, and an early renewed heart. Strong prejudice against a custom may dispose toward error, quite as forcibly as strong prejudice in its favour. Disgust in regard to the abuses of a practice may render us insensible to its uses, even

while those uses may be in themselves of the most amiable, rational, and important complexion. One of the evils commonly generated by controversy is blindness, so that we fail to see anything of the good which is blended with the evil in the maxims and usages of opponents. This is a sort of penalty, which tendencies to excess are always found to carry along with them. The old Romans became the founders of the greatest military empire our world has seen, in consequence, in great part, of the sound manly sense which taught them to incorporate into their own system of tactics whatever they found to be good in the tactics of other nations, whether those nations were among the civilized or the barbarians.'—pp. 200—205.

We part with Dr. Vaughan with cordial wishes that he may long be spared to devote his abilities and erudition to the cause of Congregational Christianity.

Art. V. *The Philosophy of Christianity; or the Genuine Christian proved to be the only real Philosopher.* By P. D. Hardy, M.R.I.A., &c. 12mo. London: Groombridge.

We are seldom disposed to quarrel with the writers of books on account of the titles they may choose to adopt; for let the dish prepared for our entertainment be but substantially good, and its name shall be whatever the cook pleases; nevertheless, it behoves us to admonish our intellectual and literary cooks not to be too ambitious and high-sounding in their title-pages. There is a modesty which bespeaks true genius, and adorns sound learning; when this is disregarded, men seem to challenge a severer judgment. Exalted pretensions awaken high expectations; he that sounds a trumpet before him must expect to meet a scrutinizing gaze from the public; but it is not every one who courts observation that can bear it. All women are not born to be ladies, nor all ladies to be queens. Every man may learn to reason, but every reasoner is not a philosopher; though if he insists upon the etymology of the term, he may indisputably announce himself as a *lover of wisdom*, even when he evinces but little of it; just as a man may love money and have none in his possession. Our readers, however, would mistake our meaning if they should suppose that we intend to apply all these observations to Mr. Hardy. We wish them to be applied to his case, only so far as his title-page shall appear to them to bespeak a work of a very different character from that which it really introduces.

We were prepared to find at least an attempt to show the consistency of the whole theory of Christianity with itself and with human reason. A subject of vast magnitude, of high promise, and of incalculable importance. Nothing, at the present

moment, could be more desirable, if executed with adequate ability; but where is the Newton to show the harmony of the whole system? Where is the Bacon that shall institute the entire philosophy of the Christian religion? Dr. Shuttleworth has produced an invaluable treatise upon it, which, after all, is but a preparation for the great enterprise, and only whets our appetite for more. Mr. P. D. Hardy has composed a book of unquestionable ability, but it makes no pretension to a survey of the whole system of Christianity. It attempts nothing of the sort; it does not even seem to recognise the work of Dr. Shuttleworth, as of a fellow labourer in the same field, who has cultivated it far more extensively, and reaped from it far richer fruit. Mr. Hardy's work is a sort of running fight, or efficient sharp-shooting at infidels, Socinians, materialists, geologists, craniologists, and papists.

Taking the book, then, for what it is, and estimating it by its contents, and not by its title-page, we can fairly and honestly recommend it, as containing a clever answer to the difficulties and objections of the several parties whose theories are brought under review.

The two first chapters, although not so expressed, treat generally of the inability of mere philosophy to expound or discover the true theory of religion. The author attaches very little importance to the doctrines of natural theology, and sets very light by all the treatises upon that subject. He alludes to the theories of the ancient philosophers, perhaps as fully as his prescribed limits would allow, but not so fully as this important part of the subject required. To know the real worth of the service rendered by natural theology to the cause of true religion, it appears to us altogether unfair to estimate it by its achievements, since human reason has been invigorated and illumined by revelation. The great question is, what did human reason discover in the department of religion and theology, before revelation assisted it, or when it was left to its own natural promptings? It is perfectly irrelevant, and beside the mark, for our modern philosophers to display to us what natural theology at the present day can teach. We beg them to tell us what it did teach, before revelation shed its light upon nature and reason? The difference is much the same as between what a man can see and do in the night, and what he can see and do in the day. Mr. Hardy's views upon this important point are, in the main, just and well supported, as far as he goes; but this part of the subject is not discussed so fully as it seemed to demand. Lord Brougham's discourse upon Paley, and Dr. Turton's remarks upon Lord Brougham, would have shown our author that there is a *via media* between the homage which some moderns have

rendered to natural theology and its entire rejection. Notwithstanding all that has been done in this department, we yet desiderate a complete history, analysis, and estimate of the discoveries of human reason, unaided and untaught by revelation, in questions of religion and natural theology.

Mr. Hardy's third chapter treats generally of the Bible, as a revelation of the Divine will, and upon some of its evidences. His remarks are sensible and pertinent, but there is a want of order: the reader is rather told how much evidence there is, than indulged with the detail of it. The fourth chapter continues the subject of the evidences, more particularly in relation to the New Testament. But the whole argument is very miscellaneous, imperfect, and mixed.

The fifth and sixth chapters include notices of infidel objections, particularly those supplied by geological facts. This subject is discussed with fairness and competent ability, and the chief objections, either removed or neutralized. Chapter VII. is devoted to an examination of phrenology and the writings of Mr. Combe. The superficial nonsense, which passes with many for philosophy, under the misnomer of phrenology, is sufficiently exposed, and its tendency to scepticism and irreligion clearly proved from the writings of its northern apostle. Craniology, however, need excite no alarm in the minds of Christian believers. Physiology itself explodes the first principles on which it rests. With high pretensions, this would-be science has not yet made good its standing in anatomy; and if it had, it could not throw one single ray of light on the mystery of life or the phenomena of mind. The entire theory is a clumsy assumption, fit only to feed the vanity of *charlatans*, and afford jokes for the tea-table.

In chapter the eighth and ninth, Mr. Hardy takes up, examines, and exposes the Unitarian creed. This may be pronounced the most complete portion of the entire volume. It deals with Scripture almost exclusively, and places its testimony upon the points in debate in a clear and convincing light. The tenth chapter, which is comprised in ten pages, is devoted to the exposure of some of the chief errors of the Roman-catholic church. We have, then, a general summary of the arguments contained in the previous part of the volume; and finally, an appendix of nearly a hundred pages, containing notes, illustrations, facts, and supplementary arguments upon all the subjects treated in the volume. The reader will accept the following extract from the third chapter, on 'the Bible, a revelation of the Divine will,' as a fair specimen of the author's manner.

'That the Scriptures have been given to man by the mercy of an ever-blessed God to lead to virtue, happiness, and immortality; and

that they teach all that is necessary to be known as instrumental to salvation, in perspicuous language, are truths well calculated to cheer the weary wanderer in his progress across the waste and howling wilderness of mortal existence. Happy it is, indeed, for us, that we have not been left to grope our way by the dim and evanescent light which the volume of nature would shed around our path in our progress to an eternal state of being.

'That man, placed in a world such as ours is, imbued with the faculty of reason, gifted with extraordinary powers of mind and reflection, and at the same time, having to struggle with passions and propensities which, if allowed a free and unrestrained exercise, must eventually degenerate and imbrute his very existence; that such an individual, placed in such circumstances, should require some revelation of the divine will for his guidance and direction; and that a beneficent Creator, such as the works and ways of Jehovah prove him to be, would not leave such a creature so endowed, in total ignorance, without affording him some intimation of his own character and requirements, must appear reasonable to any one who thinks rationally on the subject; and as there is no book in the universe worthy of the name of a 'revelation of the divine will,' except the Bible, we have, certainly, in these considerations the strongest *prima facie* evidence in favour of its genuineness; added to which, there is its own sacred character, containing, as it does, the only perfectly pure, and strictly moral code ever presented to the mind of man for his imitation and guidance; the entire of which it may be well to observe, was given in the first instance in so perfect and complete a condition as never afterwards to have required the slightest improvement or emendation. In it every sentiment accords with the feelings which (judging according to reason and common sense) we may fairly assume to actuate the mind of such a perfectly holy, just, and righteous being, as the Creator of all things must on all hands be admitted to be. Its adaptation to all classes of the community, and all the circumstances of life, should also be offered as another argument in proof; its precepts being applicable alike to the rich and the poor, to the prince on his throne, and the beggar at his footstool; to individuals living under every varied form of government, and in every variety of situation; to the prosperous and the distressed, the healthy and the diseased, the man engaged in the cares and anxieties of business, and the individual relieved from the bustle and confusion of the world; its promises and its precepts are alike suited to the wants and capabilities of all. While the system it propounds and sets before us for our acceptance, must be admitted to contain all that is good of every system of moral science which has ever been promulgated in any age or portion of the world, it is at the same time perfectly free from the slightest portion of the alloy with which every human system is found to be mixed up. These, and a thousand such considerations, might be brought to bear upon the question; the real force of the argument, however, rests upon the position, that the religion of the Bible is a system founded upon facts —facts well authenticated, and which cannot be disproved.

'As we have already shewn, the first impression of the character and requirement of the Deity was made upon the minds of men by a direct communication; but that impression was, in the course of a very few ages, totally effaced; and in place of man, by his wisdom, finding out God to perfection, each succeeding generation appeared only to be involved in still greater darkness and immorality. The Almighty, however, still preserved a light in the midst of the darkness in which the great preparation of our world was involved; and the Written Word was at length vouchsafed to the people of Israel—a people expressly chosen by the Deity for the purpose of showing forth his praise.

'That the Israelities were altogether distinct and separate from every other nation of the earth, is clearly ascertained from every record of ancient history touching on the point. Indeed it is not attempted to be denied, that they had particular laws and forms of government which differed from every other nation of the world, and in their religious rites and ceremonies they were also a peculiar people. With regard to the ancient Scriptures, usually denominated 'The Old Testament,' which contains a succinct and faithful account of their history and proceedings, there is the best historic evidence to prove its genuineness—evidence far beyond any that can be produced relative to the genuineness of any uninspired work that ever was written. To this evidence the severest tests have been applied, and the result has been, that even the enemies of the truth have been obliged to confess that the work is genuine. * * * *

'It has been ascertained, beyond the possibility of refutation, that the Pentateuch, which contained the groundwork of the religious belief of the Jewish people, and by which their laws and ceremonies were regulated, was written by Moses, a favoured servant of the Most High, who was commanded to write the law on table of stone, in order that it might be a standing memorial of the Divine will, in every succeeding age of the world; that it was safely deposited in the ark, which was kept in the Temple from the period of the erection of that extraordinary building, until the sacred edifice was demolished, and the people were carried into Babylon, are matters as clearly ascertained as that the temple of which it speaks did at one time exist.

'It has also been made evident, that after the captivity, which lasted seventy years, the canon of the Old Testament, having been completed and authenticated, was again deposited in the sacred emblem; and that from this copy, which was considered the original, and was frequently referred to, and read in the hearing of the people, various copies were transcribed for the use of the different tribes and families of the Jews. That these were exact copies there can be no doubt, from this circumstance, among others, that the sacred volume contained the genealogies of their different tribes and families, and the titles to their various districts of land which had been apportioned to them—a circumstance well calculated to render them scrupulously exact in transcribing them; besides which, the various blessings it promised under the reign of the Messiah, was a means of making it the object of much care and atten-

tion by all, and of preventing its being corrupted by any particular party.

'It has, moreover, been ascertained, beyond a doubt, that full three hundred years before the birth of Christ, a complete set of the canonical books of the Old Testament was translated into Greek, the same version which is now denominated the Septuagint.'—pp. 21—26.

There is a remarkable anecdote in the appendix which, as it will probably be new to most of our readers, and as it strikingly illustrates the morbid tendency of purely physical investigations into the mysteries of life and mind, and the disappointment which must invariably and inevitably ensue, we must be permitted to cite:—

'The structure of the brain and the investigation of the phenomena connected with matter and mind, have long employed the researches of the most celebrated philosophers. A Mr. Herman Goltz passed many years in anatomical investigations of the brain, and in endeavouring to trace the connexion between its marvellous and its important uses. At last, despairing of attaining the end of his long and wearisome investigations, he hung himself in his dissecting room, and was nearly devoured by rats before his loss was discovered. His work on the topography and nomenclature of the cerebral mass is still extant, though of the utmost rarity. Before he committed suicide, he wrote on a slip of paper the following remarkable words:—'For more than twenty years I have pursued a phantom, an *ignis fatuus*, that has decoyed me into misery and ruin. My vision has become so dim that I can no longer distinguish the objects of my research—my hand is too tremulous to hold the scalpel. Confined in this charnel-house, I have been estranged from nature's fair and inviting prospects. I have cultivated no man's friendship, nor sought for the affection of women. I have indeed read of the charms of society, the exhilarations of wine, the delights of a domestic partner, and the blessedness of children; but I have been a solitary student, water has been my only beverage, no female can approach me with attachment, nor can a child curse me for its existence. To live longer is needless; the past has been misemployed, the present is wearisome, and I will anticipate the future.'—p. 237.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Hardy has rendered a useful and acceptable service to the cause of revealed religion. He has, in many instances, exposed with much good sense the misconceptions and fallacies which sceptics of various kinds have indulged in against revelation. Their attacks are for the most part desultory and partial. Nothing like a regular examination of the entire evidence is ever attempted. They shrink from an open and fair encounter, but deal in side blows or guerilla warfare. Frequently they endeavour to get rid of Christianity altogether, without direct opposition, by attempting to establish theories which shall supersede it. But none of these will stand

the test of fact and experience, and their advocates ought to perceive, that as the Christian religion is based upon facts, there is no fair ground for any other theory till these facts are disposed of. The greater part of the direct objections against revelation may be shown to militate equally against the principles admitted by sceptics themselves. Natural religion, as it is called, is not exempt from the very same difficulties as attach to revealed. The truths it is supposed to teach, involve problems quite as hard to solve as any connected with revelation. It is evident, therefore, that the sceptic who admits the facts of nature and the doctrine of a final cause, which the facts imply or prove, with all the startling difficulties which accompany such facts and reasonings, has no just ground to demand that revelation should be free from difficulties, or remove all his doubts. Mystery, impenetrable mystery, surrounds us on every hand, when we attempt to push the frontiers of our knowledge beyond that limit which encircles and protects the Infinite and the Eternal from the intrusion of a profitless curiosity.

It is, however, well to meet fairly and candidly the difficulties of inquirers; and where a genuine love of truth appears, to treat tenderly the hesitation of reasoning and doubting minds. If their doubts are to be removed, it must be by calmly and clearly showing that they are unfounded, or at least that they are unfairly used against Christianity by those who attach no weight to them in other matters. In most cases of scepticism there exists a total ignorance of the mass of evidence which revelation can show; and by such persons the entire question has never been considered with anything like calmness and candour. Otherwise it would be impossible for educated men to make use of such trifling and powerless objections as are frequently brought forward. In many cases, no doubt, infidelity is resorted to as offering a freedom from moral restraints; the darkness is preferred to the light by those whose deeds are evil. The consciences of such must be left to avenge their quarrel with injured truth. But every effort should be made to convince the doubting, and guard the young and untried against the sophistry of scepticism, and the unreasonableness of infidelity. Mr. Hardy's book will be useful for these purposes; for although he has not produced a systematic and well-arranged argument, nor presented the old arguments in a new and brighter light, yet he has seized upon the principal topics, has met the chief objections, and especially those of modern times arising out of geology and craniology; and all in a compressed form.

There is another circumstance which will add interest to his work. The author is a layman, and on that account may be supposed to have more influence with sceptics than writers whose profession binds them to uphold revealed religion. It is grati-

fying to find a gentleman of business so well read in matters of such importance to mankind at large, but which require so much reading and study thoroughly to understand them. It is manifest throughout the volume, that the author writes with the most entire earnestness and sincerity. His style is plain, but lucid and forcible, admirably adapted to the understandings of the people generally. We should have been glad to perceive a more clear and orderly arrangement. The general impression is not that of a close and progressive argument, gradually guiding the mind to a full conviction of the truth sought to be established —an ascent, step by step, to the pinnacle on which he wishes to place the reader; but of a number of papers or essays written at intervals on the same general subject, but in a great measure miscellaneous and mixed in their arguments. As it is, however, we accept 'The Philosophy of Christianity' from the hands of the worthy author, who is, in this case, also printer and publisher, not as adequately answering to that title, but as a useful volume, treating upon part of the evidences for Christianity, and many of the objections against it.

Art. VI. 1. *The Jubilee of the World; An Essay on Christian Missions to the Heathen.* By the Rev. John Macfarlane. pp. 454. 12mo. Glasgow: Collins.

2. *Christian Missions to Heathen Nations.* By Baptist W. Noel, M.A. pp. 415. 12mo. Nisbet.

3. *'Who is my Neighbour?' An Essay on Christian Missions.* By J. B. Melson, A.B., M.D., &c. Second Edition. pp. 354. 8vo. Hamilton.

The first of these volumes is denominated an 'Additional Prize.' We must therefore now proceed to inquire into the grounds of a measure so unprecedented, for those set forth in the prolegomena are, in our judgment, anything but satisfactory. To speak the truth, it seems to have been a wriggling sort of business. The recusant adjudicator prompts the committee; the committee prompt the body of the adjudicators; four of the adjudicators, in turn, prompt the committee; and then the committee promptly comply with the adjudicators' prompting, which they themselves had prompted. All this is clear upon the face of the documents. The facts are these:—One of the adjudicators pronounces Mr. Macfarlane's essay entitled to the first prize; but his four compeers declare for the work of Dr. Harris. One of the adjudicators—the same, of course—next decides that Mr. Macfarlane deserves the second prize; but his four colleagues award it to Mr. Hamilton. Such is the basis of the act of which we complain. 'In these circumstances,' says the 'advertisement,' 'the com-

mittee, desirous to give the cause every possible advantage, resolved on offering a distinct premium to its author,'—that is, they offer a premium for the production of an essay already penned. Then next, as to the 'circumstances' which compelled the measure; could these 'circumstances' possibly have been less urgent? Short of unanimity, could the majority of the adjudicators have been greater, or the minority less? All things considered, the extent of the unanimity was remarkable. But this is not the whole. What weight was due from the committee to the judgment of a gentleman who awarded the first prize to an essay which his fellow judges deemed unworthy even of the second? Was such a case one of special pressure? We can hardly conceive of a pretext more flimsy. It was certain beforehand, that among the rejected compositions there would be a third best, and it was not improbable that this third essay would approximate the second, while that essay itself might be as nearly approached by the fourth. In fact, no line could be drawn. Is it not further obvious that, in all such cases, *one* Work only is wanted? Is it not a fact that, in general, the specifications provide for the printing of only *one* Work? It is indisputable that second prizes are intended chiefly to augment the encouragement to contributors, by increasing the chances of partial success, and on this ground we see no impropriety of a third, or fourth, or even a larger number, provided that the number be fixed at the outset, and abided by. On great occasions, such as the present, we should deem it proper to enlarge the number, even were the premium but nominal. Such a course, besides multiplying the inducements, would help to decide the degrees of merit upon a scale sufficient to embrace all treatises of real worth, and to stamp them with a judicial approbation, which might aid the authors to determine the propriety of publication; and as to parties whose pride spurned everything short of the first or second prize, they might be accommodated by the option of the publication or concealment of their names.

The committee, impelled by the urgency of 'these circumstances,' next began to consider the means of accomplishing their project. As decency required, they made application to the 'two successful competitors,' and readily obtained their 'generous concurrence.' In such a case, to ask of such men, was, of course, to obtain; but, even in them, does prompt compliance bespeak moral approbation? By such a scheme the successful Writers were wronged, and they doubtless felt their wrong, although, with the dignity which marks their characters, they scorned to complain. The committee next dealt with the adjudicators, and obtained a recommendation to publish Mr. Macfarlane's essay from such of them 'as felt themselves at liberty to give it.' Among

these, of course, was the recusant adjudicator, he, therefore, is not to be counted; of the other four, three subscribe the recommendation. The subscribers wisely took the precaution, however, to set themselves right with the public by opening with the significant words, 'As the committee wish,' &c., thus clearly showing that the committee, and not they, took the initiative in the business. We are glad to find that Mr. Melvill's name does not appear to this document. To us it is really amusing to see the committee, after they had been thus fixed with the charge of prompting the adjudicators to give a recommendation, in the next page coolly publishing a resolution, affecting politely to yield to the adjudicators' wishes! These worthy people thus gravely proceed: 'The committee having taken into consideration the preceding proposal of the adjudicators, * * * have great pleasure in concurring in the recommendation that the Essay be published.' This is the best thing of the kind that has for a long time come in our way. They consider a 'proposal' originally emanating from themselves, and concur in a 'recommendation' of their own suggestion! We have, however, no manner of doubt that the said committee, in all this, sought only the public good, and that they deserve the fullest credit for pure intention. All this we cheerfully accord to them; but we do think that they are not adepts in business, that they have placed themselves in a false position, and that, all circumstances considered, their conduct is liable to misconstruction. Indeed, we ought not, perhaps, to accuse the man of uncharitableness, who half believes that

> 'Over them Arachne high did lift
> Her cunning web, and spread her subtle net,
> Enwrapped in foul smoke, and clouds more black than jet.'

The committee must allow us to remind them, that he in whose behalf this struggle was made is a Scottish churchman; that his book distinctly proclaims him a churchman by earnestly contending for the church-and-state principle in connexion with missions; that the solitary adjudicator who struggled first for the primary, and then for the secondary, claims of the essay in question, is a Scottish churchman, and that they themselves are Scottish churchmen. Such being the facts, to say the least, appearances were somewhat against them. Had the recusant adjudicator been a dissenter, or had the Essayist been a dissenter, and that dissent distinctly perceptible in his book, or had both been dissenters, it would very materially have altered the aspect of the affair. There might not, indeed, in that case, have been one particle more rectitude, but there had certainly been less ground for suspicion. We much regret the measure itself, and still more the manner of its accomplishment. We, moreover, do most solemnly protest against its becoming a precedent.

The measure before us sustains a mixed character; it is partly unjust, it is partly unkind. To both the successful and the unsuccessful candidates, it was unjust. Its clear tendency was to depreciate the value of the successful essays, and to enhance the honour of Mr. Macfarlane at the expense of his failing competitors. To Mr. Macfarlane and the recusant adjudicator, however, in spite of appearance, and also it may be of intention, it was unkind. In the end it will augment the reputation of neither. An appeal has thus been made to mankind at large, and both the public and the press have unanimously affirmed the judgment of the court below. It could not be otherwise. It was utterly impossible that such men as Drs. Wardlaw and Bunting, Messrs. Melvill and Crisp, could very materially err in such a matter. Indeed, one literary organ, of no mean authority, has already pronounced the essay of Mr. Macfarlane to be inferior to that of Mr. Noel, and, therefore, only fourth on the scale of merit. These circumstances severely reflect on the judicial competency—his integrity is unimpeachable—of that adjudicator who claimed for it the highest honour and reward, and also on the discretion of the committee who forced it on to its present perilous position. By an upright and steady adherence to their own published conditions, and to established usage, they would, in the end, have best consulted both the comfort and the character of all concerned. None of the adjudicators, in our view, ought to have been parties to the step. For them it had been enough to issue a general recommendation that several other essays should be published, or to express a hope to that effect, leaving it to the respective writers when they had seen the essays approved, to decide for themselves. We should have been sorry, indeed, to be without the work of Mr. Macfarlane; nor would we: for he must have been the subject of an unerring consciousness that it had merit sufficient not only to authorize, but to demand its publication. Nor is this all; had such a course been pursued, it is more than probable we should have had several additional essays published, besides those that have appeared; for to us it seems morally certain, that, from the names of some of the reported competitors, there must have been several works, equal, if not in some respects superior, to the volumes of Mr. Noel and Dr. Melson, and nearly or altogether equal if not superior to that of Mr. Macfarlane. But the unwarrantable preference given to his volume, and the unfair advantage thence arising to it, have deprived the public of this benefit; for under the circumstances, a prudent man would hardly venture to publish.

Thus much for one ground of complaint—we earnestly wish there had not been a second; but we are reluctantly compelled to advance another of a somewhat different character, relative to

the second prize. We shall first state the case by setting forth the paction part of the committee's original 'advertisement,' which runs thus:—

'The adjudicators are expected to make their decision known, on or before the 1st of June, 1840; after which date, the essays will be returned, on proper application at the several offices where they were originally left, with the letters unopened, excepting those accompanying the successful treatises. Half of the profits arising from the sale of the copyright of the essay, to which the *prize of two hundred guineas* shall be awarded, to be given to the author; the other half to be applied to such object, promotive of the great cause of Missions, as the contributors to the present prize may deem most expedient.'

It will be seen that provision is here made simply for the secret surrender of the unsuccessful essays. Those approved are, for the present, of course, to be retained, as usual, and a communication opened with the authors, apprising them of the result of the adjudication. The question we have now to raise regards the position of Mr. Hamilton's essay. Does it belong to him, or to the committee? On this point the covenant is silent. This perfect silence is an important circumstance, as it leaves the question to be settled upon the principles of usage and of equity. According to usage, the property, in the manuscript, remains wholly with Mr. Hamilton. In the competition on 'Covetousness,' 'Schism,' and in a number of other cases, there was no second prize, and in cases where there was, it was uniformly given to multiply inducements, and as a slight acknowledgment of superior merit. But we remember no instance in which the donor or donors claimed a part property, and still less an entire property, in a second prize — no instance in which they demanded or accepted one farthing of the profits of a second prize—and few, in which they provided for a participation even in those of a First. Burnet, in the Great Aberdeen Prize, Dr. Conquest, Sir C. E. Smith, and most others, have all left the writers who obtained their prizes to enjoy the whole profits. On the ground of usage then, Mr. Hamilton was indisputably entitled to the entire property in his production.

But how stands the equity of the case? The usage, we apprehend, proclaims to some extent the equity. Let us, however, put the case fairly: the committee, we shall suppose, pay Mr. Hamilton *fifty guineas*, claiming the manuscript as their own, and asserting the right, at pleasure, either to suppress or publish it; and, in the latter event, to lay out the profits according to their own judgment. This is the claim. Now it really appears to us that no such claim can be allowed, for the following reasons:—First, because no such claim is made, no such design is intimated, no such power is asserted, in the published condi-

tions of the committee. Such rights are mere assumptions; and Mr. Hamilton, being no party, is under no obligation. Secondly, the sum of *fifty guineas* is not a sufficient consideration for such a work. A respectable London publisher would blush to ask any literary man of established character to execute such a volume for less than four, five, or six times the sum. Why, in the case before us, Dr. Harris receives *two hundred guineas*, besides *half the profits*, which may amount to four or five hundred more. Is it meet, then, that Mr. Hamilton, whose work is only just not the first, should be paid in full with *fifty guineas?* Our readers will learn, as we ourselves have learned, with indignation, that the Glasgow committee entertained the design of thus paying him. We speak with the confidence which knowledge imparts, and we call upon the committee, if we are wrong, to contradict us. Mr. Hamilton himself, who, like too many men of splendid parts, is not over-burdened with worldly wisdom, perhaps, estimates but lightly the act of injustice to which he has been subjected, but it is strongly resented by his personal friends, through whom the main facts of the case have reached us. The facts are these:—After the adjudication, Mr. Hamilton demanded his manuscript, but the committee disputed his right to it. The simple writer offered to refund the prize-money. This was peremptorily declined, and the *fifty guineas* were at once paid him, the committee still insisting upon their right, and proposing a reference to the *five* judges of the matter in dispute, a proposal with which Mr. Hamilton could not comply, forasmuch as, relying on the silence of the published conditions of the committee, on established usage, and on obvious equity, he had already disposed of it to a publisher, for what sum we know not, nor does it matter; it may, from the character of the vendor, have been for half its worth. At any rate, whatever it may have been, under these circumstances, the gifted simpleton offered to pay to the committee *half* of the purchase money, the terms which the 'advertisement' provided relative to the first prize! That offer was actually accepted, and the sum, whatever its amount, has long since been received by the committee!

Such are the facts. We vouch for their accuracy. Can it be necessary for us further to elucidate their character? Our readers will not fail to form a proper estimate of the whole affair; and to them we leave the task of denouncing a contemptible piece of injustice towards a man of unusual generosity. We make no inquiry respecting the use to which the committee may apply the money. It will, doubtless, be a laudable one; but it is not to be forgotten that He who is higher than the highest, 'hates robbery for a burnt offering.'

We trust that what we have said in the foregoing pages may

contribute to prevent the recurrence of such things. It is necessary that committees and directories should always act under the influence of self-suspicion; for bodies will find it easy both to do and to defend deeds which individuals would tremble even to imagine. Companies of Christian men should beware of everything that might even by possibility subject them to the charge of homogeny with Dean Swift's answer-jobbers. 'What disgusts me,' said that keen observer, 'from having to do with answer-jobbers is, that they have no conscience.' Far from us, and from all our friends, be such an accusation! We are jealous of the honour of all religious bodies and Christian agencies; and while we shall ever be among the foremost to defend them from all unjust assault, yet, when their conduct merits it, we shall never shrink from administering rebuke or chastisement.

We now proceed with the examination of the works before us. Mr. Macfarlane divides his volume into three parts. The first sets forth the objects and resources of the missionary work, and comprises six chapters, extending to about one third of the volume. It is here shewn, with no ordinary ability, that the object of missions to the heathen is essentially spiritual; but that the civilization and advancement of society are the necessary result of missionary success; that the cross of Christ is the great instrument of renovating mankind; that the universal dominion of Christ ensures the stability and progress of his kingdom; and that all success in attempts to propagate the gospel, results from the influence of the Holy Spirit. All this is done in a clear, terse, theological style, embodying wide and comprehensive views of human nature and of existing society, and of the nature, power, and glory of gospel truth.

Part Second exhibits the duty of Christians towards the heathen, and the manner of its performance. Here we have seven chapters, the first of which is devoted to the proof of the duty of spreading the gospel; the second presents 'Forms of Union in the Missionary Work.' Here it is that the author shews his predilection for establishments of religion. Considering that the object was a catholic essay, and that among his adjudicators there was a Wardlaw and a Crisp—of Dr. Bunting we say nothing—if we desiderate Mr. Macfarlane's prudence, we have proofs at least of his manly courage and Christian integrity. He boldly contends, that 'a Christian nation, acting in its corporate capacity, is bound, through its public and recognised officers, to promote and extend the knowledge of true religion among all its subjects, to suppress idolatry should it exist, and to encourage the propagation of the Christian faith.' In support of this proposition, the author argues at considerable length, but as the church-and-state question had no business in this work, it

shall find no place in the present article. In a few seconds, he will answer himself in a manner the most satisfactory. He next goes on to speak of 'voluntary association' for this work, which he deems a good thing to supplement the 'deficiencies and neglects' of governments. We are glad to find him speaking in a tone so kindly of 'the large resources and signal success of the London Missionary Society.' He thinks that, at the outset, its principle was good, and its adoption necessary; but he considers it to be so no longer. He thinks the sectarian or denominational combinations more natural. This conducts him to the subject of 'the duty of particular churches, in their *corporate capacity*, to labour for the conversion of the world.' Here the author strikes out in a path which, although not new to nonconformists, is so to churchmen; and we confess it gladdens us to find such sentiments embraced and boldly avowed by such a man as Mr. Macfarlane. He contends that 'such a mode of propagating the gospel is more scriptural, more consistent and uniform in its character, and more effective than any voluntary association for that purpose that can be formed.' In proof of the first point, the author argues thus:—

'Such a method is more scriptural. Whatever opinions may be held as to the original form and constitution of the apostolic church, it was clearly under the direction and control of THE CHURCH, that the gospel was preached and planted, and its ordinances administered in primitive times. It was to the church formed by himself, that Christ originally gave the commission to 'teach all nations.' It was the church that he endowed with the various qualifications that were necessary for 'the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.' It was by the church alone, in its associate and spiritual capacity, that during the first age preachers were sent forth, pastors ordained, superintendence exercised, and regulations made for its own internal administration, in all the varieties of condition in which it existed. No institution is alluded to, in the Acts of the Apostles, or inspired Epistles, analogous to those conventional associations for the spread of the gospel, that have been formed or proposed in our day, whose affairs are managed by committees or office-bearers, other than the recognised and ordained office-bearers of the church.'—p. 165.

All this is near the truth, but it sounds somewhat strange in the mouth of a law-church minister; from such lips, nevertheless, we are right glad to hear it. In the subsequent reasonings of this very valuable chapter, the author enunciates a series of truths which cannot be too deeply pondered. He highly approves of the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Baptist, and the Methodist, working apart, and carrying out their own ideas of ritual and of polity. 'Each CHURCH,' says he, 'AS SUCH, should be a missionary church. Besides that, Scripture authority is

wanted to sanction the system of conventional union, and lay direction and superintendence in spiritual affairs, there is not that stability, consistency, and uniform progression which must exist, where there is the same impelling power, and where all the parts of the machinery are regulated and adjusted to one harmonious movement.' He contends that this congregational and denominational method will be far 'more effective than any mere voluntary union upon whatever scale.' 'Is it conceivable,' he asks, 'that by any other means, the Wesleyan Methodists, a body far from opulent, could bring an annual revenue of upwards of 90,000*l.* to the cause of missions?' He further adds, that 'since the church of Scotland has assumed the distinctive character of a missionary church, and has begun to employ her parochial jurisdiction and machinery for the collection of funds, an amount has been obtained for religious purposes, unparalleled in the history of the country.'

Mr. Macfarlane, by a side wind, supplies a wholesome hint to the London Missionary Society. He alleges with considerable truth, that notwithstanding its 'fundamental principle,' it has generally adopted 'the independent or congregational form in its foreign churches, and has come to be supported almost entirely by Christians of that denomination.' The former part of this statement is not quite correct. That SOCIETY, we apprehend, has 'adopted' nothing in relation to such matters. It has always kept good faith with its principle; but its agents, unfettered in their operations, with the Word of Life in their hands, have by it been led to 'adopt' such a form in the churches which they have planted. His affirmation concerning support, however, is true. The principle of the Society has long survived the reason on which it originally rested and the circumstances which gave it existence. In the course of events, it has been left in the hands of the Independents; by them, we believe, this result was not desired, and nothing was done to effect or hasten it. They cleave to their neutral flag, indeed, at the hazard of rendering themselves all but ridiculous. It is a well known fact that they have ofttimes no small difficulty in getting a Church-minister to preach the annual sermon; that they are limited to one or two metropolitan places of worship, of which they may be soon deprived, that when they have got both a preacher and an edifice, they cannot procure an Episcopalian audience. This is so notorious, that many of the dissenting supporters of the society, from half pity, half shame, make it a point not only to give their own personal attendance, even at the expense of considerable inconvenience, but actually to canvass their friends for their presence, to save appearances, and, after all, the congregations are generally but a handful, and the collection a trifle. That society, in

our opinion, pays very dearly for its catholicity. It will, we doubt not, or at least the Congregational body will, by-and-by, begin to reflect on its position. We witnessed the formation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales with much satisfaction, and have watched its progress with unfeigned delight; nothing in relation to it, however, has so much gratified us as the alliance which has been effected betwixt it and the Home Missionary, the Irish Evangelical, and the Colonial Missionary Societies. This triune junction was a profound conception, and a most important achievement. It is only just, it is only honest, as well as highly politic, that such societies should bear the image and superscription of those bodies who support them. Nonconformists have, in divers important particulars, long been the victims of a spurious catholicity. On this subject Mr. Macfarlane has headed the chapter, under immediate review, with a beautiful gem from Dr. M'Crie, which runs thus:—'A vague and erratic charity which soars above fixed principles of belief, is a very feeble and precarious bond of union. True Christian Charity is the daughter of Truth.' A very little thought will shew the members of the above Union that the reasons which have led to the affiliation of the three societies already specified, demand the addition of a fourth—the London Missionary Society. Every argument that applies to the former will apply with five-fold force to the latter. Completeness of machinery, and consistency of principle, in our judgment, equally and imperatively demand it. Should the Congregational body be the only people in the land wholly indifferent to the establishment of churches in foreign lands, of their own faith and order? Their brethren, the Baptists, have their English Home Mission, their Irish Mission, and their Foreign Mission, and why should not the Independents? We are aware, that what Dr. M'Crie designates 'a vague and erratic charity,' has prodigious charms for some people; and that the so-called catholic constitution of the society is also a convenient rhetorical common-place, of no mean use in certain hands for the embellishment of anniversary eloquence; but, all circumstances considered, we do think the annual hour's triumph over what the disciples of disorder term bigotry, is purchased enormously dear. It is surely to be hoped, after the ecclesiastical revelations of the last few years, that the Congregational community, to whom, in times past, the liberties of mankind have been so deeply indebted, will at length bethink themselves. They hold their principles in trust for distant climes and future ages. They may now clearly see the resolute determination of Popery to pursue them, in their walks of missionary philanthropy, through the whole earth, while the Anglican church is not less determined

in her resolution to plant her own standard, and fight for her arrogant assumptions in every colony of the British empire. To us, then, it does appear that the time is fully come for the congregational churches of Great Britain and Ireland, who constitute the London Missionary Society, to strike their present colourless mean-nothing flag, and to hoist, in the sight of all lands, their own distinctive denominational ensign.

The third chapter consists of an elaborate disquisition on prayer, which, of course, contains nothing new. The fourth introduces the subject of pecuniary contribution, which is discussed sermon-wise, in a manner which has very little that is practical about it. The author considers that 'only one pound in every seven hundred and fifty of British income, is devoted to this great object of Christian philanthropy.' This fact may satisfy the descendants of Mant and Morris that we are still a great way below the ruin-point, and that unless the missionary fever spread very rapidly, indeed, there is a chance of the country's surviving at least another thousand years. The 'duty of personal consecration to the work' next ensues. This momentous matter is but coldly stated and feebly pressed. It is equally deficient, both in point and in appeal. Indeed, in all these mission essays, there is nothing in which the writers, upon the whole, have more failed than in exhibiting the claims and glory of the missionary character. This noble theme might have been made, in Mr. Macfarlane's hands, to tell with resistless power upon the youthful attendants on the Scottish seminaries of tuition for the rising ministry. He might, and he ought to have showed how tremendous is the responsibility, in connexion with this subject, which rests upon parents, pastors, professors, and students. The masculine mind of Mr. Macfarlane, however, has not sufficiently ruminated this point; hence he does not see it in its length, and breadth, and bearings. His soul does not once kindle; he has taken no grasp of it. Still he has some faint glimpses of its nobility, as the following declaration will shew:—

'Faith takes into its calculation the whole range of human existence, and the final destiny of man. Viewed in this light, the missionary occupies not only a useful, but an exalted station. When all that the world calls great shall have passed away,—when the names of kings and of conquerors shall have been forgotten,—when the plans of statesmen, and the exploits of heroes, that have occupied the largest space in the history of nations, shall be remembered, only as they served to promote the final purposes of Sovereign grace,—the unknown or despised missionary, who went forth in humble faith and obedience to the work of Christ, shall be publicly recognised as the friend and co-adjutor of the 'King of Saints,' and, welcomed into the joy of his Lord.'—p. 252.

The sixth chapter treats of 'the duty of the church towards the Jews, as auxiliaries in propagating the gospel.' This topic, which we consider wholly out of place in the present volume, is discussed, or rather talked about, in a very tame, meagre, and unprofitable manner. It has been for several years a crotchet with a portion of the Scottish clergy, and Mr. Macfarlane appears to have thought his book would be incomplete without it. The seventh chapter labours to shew that 'the present is the final dispensation.' This is one of the most valuable portions of the book. The point is handled with extraordinary ability. It would be difficult, indeed, within the same space, to do more towards proving 'that we have no reason to expect the visible and personal intervention of Christ, with his saints and angels, prior, or as auxiliary to the predicted triumphs of his cause.' It would form a valuable tract on the subject.

This leads us on to the Third Part of the Work, comprehending 'motives and encouragements to promote the diffusion of the gospel.' This part consists of some eight chapters or sermons, full of sound gospel doctrine, but presenting little that calls for specific notice. We shall just transcribe the heads of these chapters. 'Love to Christ the grand motive to Missionary Effort—Compassion for the Heathen, an urgent motive to Missionary Zeal—Encouragement to the Missionary Work, arising from the early success of Christianity—Encouragement arising from the present state of Missions and aspect of the Times—Encouragement arising from explicit prophecies—The reflex influence of the Missionary Enterprise, a motive to increased activity and zeal—Objections answered—Brief Appeal to the Reader in behalf of the Heathen.' These subjects are all treated in a grave, judicious, devout, and scriptural manner.

Our opinion of this work, as a whole, may be gathered from what we have already written. It is nearly, in all points, what we had anticipated from a Scottish clergyman, stationed in a rural district. The matter, the method, the tone, the mould of thought, the style of expression, all betoken the strong-minded, the well-educated, the pious and pains-taking, the staid and studious Presbyterian divine. The predominant faculty in the writer is the understanding; he hardly indicates the existence of any other; and he takes for granted that his reader resembles himself. He writes like a man that has for ever abjured both paint and pathos. He makes no provision for the affections, and as little for the fancy. The book throughout presents not a single touch of true tenderness, nor one flash of imagination. It is a garden which has neither weed nor flower. It is so delightfully dry, that it must have pleased Swift himself. The Dean of St. Patrick's was accustomed to speak with admiration of an acquaintance, who, wherever, in reading, he observed a sen-

tence or a paragraph ending with a point of exclamation, always made it a rule to pass that by. Mr. Macfarlane would have been a favourite with the dean and his friend. We travelled over no fewer than three hundred and fifty-five pages before we met a single note of exclamation, and then we were treated to two in succession. At a distance of forty-one pages further on (p. 396) he forgets himself again, and we have two more. But this is the last lapse, and it is amply atoned for by the 'appeal' at the close, for there not a single exclamation escapes him; and we can assure our most sentimental readers that they may sit down to it without the dread of discomposure; they are in no danger of dropping a single tear. He gives no

> 'cause
> To be suspected of more tenderness
> Than doth become a man.'

After a thorough scrutiny into the merits of the work before us, we are now able most satisfactorily to account for a circumstance which at first perplexed us—the preference given to it by one of the adjudicators, Dr. Welsh, the disciple, friend, and biographer of the late celebrated Mental Philosopher, Dr. Thomas Brown. Dr. Welsh, it is well known, was highly worthy of such a friendship and such a function. He is an adept in metaphysical and logical studies, while his tastes and habits are such as these studies imply. This fact, we think, explains at once the reasons which induced him to estimate so highly the work of Mr. Macfarlane. Had we seen the three books prior to their presentation, we could have told with confidence that Dr. Welsh would infallibly give the first prize to the 'Jubilee of the World.' It is, we conceive, just such a book as he himself would have written on Missions. It evinces its author to be a man of strong and cultivated powers, a solid thinker, a clear writer, but very imperfectly acquainted with his subject. He has sat down and made it a study, and the result is before us—a solemn, stately, well-reasoned, well written volume, comprising a very few general principles. The theme is clearly new to the author; he knows very little of it, either as regards the home apparatus or the foreign operations; and he is still but imperfectly imbued with the spirit of Missions. It is the cold dissertation of a moral philosopher, not the melting appeal of a weeping apostle. Now we can conceive that those very things which we deem defects in Mr. Macfarlane's book, a man of Dr. Welsh's tastes, intellectual habits, and professional pursuits may deem excellences. The metaphysician, we doubt not, had great difficulty in getting through the paint, pathos, and sating beauty of Dr. Harris; and how he succeeded in vanquishing Mr. Hamilton we cannot con-

ceive. What we should have given for a peep at him while struggling on amid the figures, flights, brief bursts, endless paragraphs, dashes and declamations of the romantic Yorkshireman! We quite believe the doctor looked on his co-adjudicators as on men sorely bewildered when they preferred Dr. Harris to Mr. Macfarlane; but when they also declared for Mr. Hamilton, he must have deemed them bereft of their senses!

While Mr. Macfarlane's work is strongly characteristic of the Scottish, we consider Mr. Noel's as not less so of the English established-church clergy. The one class deals much in common sense and matter of fact, the other in metaphysics and moral science. Mr. Noel's book is as complete a contrast to Mr. Macfarlane's as can well be conceived. The former abounds in everything that is wanting in the latter. Both united would have formed a most masterly treatise. Had Mr. Noel's book appeared alone some few years back, it would have commanded very general attention, and have been considered a production of great value. As one of the unsuccessful prize essays, it now appears under less favourable circumstances; but even now it cannot fail to be extensively appreciated. Viewed in a literary light, we have no praise to bestow on the publication; it even sinks beneath reasonable expectation; it is the only essay among the five which in that respect is not creditable to its author. Little regard has been paid to the specifications of the committee, and still less to the natural limits and divisions of the subject. The entire volume is divided into eight chapters; of these the first sets forth, somewhat superficially, the duty of Christians with regard to the heathen; the second discusses the question whether missionary exertions are needful; the third treats of the practicability of missions; the fourth, of the effects of missions; the fifth, of the means possessed by Great Britain for extending Christian missions—this is a chapter of great value; but we must pass on to chapter sixth, on the number of missionaries, which comprises principles that well merit the attention of our various missionary societies. While Mr. Noel laments the limited number of the entire body, he considers that the directories have erred in not placing more missionaries at each station. He insists, that by fixing considerable numbers together in strong positions, that they would be enabled to effect a most necessary division of labour; that in all respects they would render to each other important assistance; that such a missionary staff would in itself present an impressive aspect, and produce a salutary effect upon the mind of the heathen. He illustrates at some length the mischiefs which have arisen from the feebleness of the missionary force. He then exemplifies the happy effects produced by the concentration of missionary efforts upon a

manageable district. He states that the American missionaries in Ceylon, instead of being scattered over the whole island, have confined themselves to Jaffna, a district at its northern extremity, containing something beneath a hundred and fifty thousand people. At this place five missionaries, four of whom were married, arrived from the United States in 1816, and at present there are six missionaries, exclusive of a physician, a printer, and a body of native preachers and teachers. These evangelists from the first, instead of a cheerless solitude, have had the comfort of each other's society. On the 1st of February, 1820, fifteen missionaries dined together at the table of Mr. Winslow. Four times a year all the American missionaries assembled for consultation and prayer. The advantages arising from this contiguity of the stations were various and great. One of these was, that it enabled the brethren to form two central schools, one for training up young men to the ministry, and another for the education of the most promising girls, in the place of five boarding schools which had been previously opened at the five stations. Here the students, besides instruction in Tamul, were taught the English language, and the elements of European science. Forty-eight youths were received into it the first year, and in 1834 the number had amounted to one hundred and forty-two. Mr. Noel well observes, that upon the single man system, effects like these could not have been realised. He might have fortified his argument still further by a reference to Serampore. After expatiating on the subsequent history, and the delightful success of the American mission, he proceeds as follows:—

'Precisely similar advantages have accrued to the New Zealand missions, and to the French mission in South Africa, by the conjunction of the missionaries, though to a less extent, because the missionaries in both cases, and especially in the latter, are much further from each other. Wherever there has been this conjunction of faithful missionaries, success has been granted to their labours; and if, in the neglect of that obvious instrumentality, missionaries have been planted alone among strange people, to learn the language as they could, to blunder on in ignorance of their habits, to be suspected because unknown, despised because solitary, oppressed by labours to which there was no end, and from which there could be no respite; if under these circumstances they have died, leaving their solitary successors to begin the work almost afresh, and like them to die almost before it was begun, we need not be surprised that heathen societies have never been shaken to their foundations, that Christianity has rather shone among the heathen like a subterranean lamp than as the rising sun, that there have been comparatively few converts and still fewer native ministers trained up to do the work of evangelists,—solitary missionaries could not do it.'—p. 343.

'The Americans are acting everywhere on the concentrative system; they have five missionaries at Bankok, five at Singapore, and six at Borneo.'

Mr. Noel, in the seventh chapter, urges the usual motives to missionary exertion, which, as they call for no remark, we pass, and proceed to the last chapter, in which the strength and marrow of the work may be said to be placed. He opens by earnestly urging the necessity of strengthening the present stations; he would have in no place fewer than four or five missionaries, and with such associations he would fill India. This view we hold to be a most important one; it is, however, not novel, and it is therefore the more important. Melville Horne powerfully urged it nearly half a century ago; and W. Buyers, the Benares missionary, strongly contends for it in his late excellent volume of 'Letters on Missions,' which we take this opportunity of recommending. Common sense, indeed, by the aid of a little reflection, would long since have taught the directors of missionary societies that such was the proper plan of prosecuting the enterprise; but bodies of men embarked in works of charity seldom reflect much, and they are generally very jealous of the counsels of those who do. It has been hitherto the object of British societies to multiply stations; they have had no faith in the well-known principle by which Napoleon conquered Europe; which, by the way, is also exactly the principle of colonization which common sense, combined with the necessities of nature, has led all nations in all ages to adopt. Had the Greeks and Romans sent forth single men and single couples instead of clusters and multitudes, in order to promote commerce and civilization, their gains had soon been counted, and all they would have left mankind would have been the legacy of their folly. We are glad to find Mr. Noel coming so fully out upon this point in the following passage:—

'The directors of missions, at least in this country, do not yet seem to be fully impressed with the importance of having a missionary corps in each place. The American societies act on this principle to a far greater extent than we do. To afford missionaries the help of united counsels and combined labours to evangelize whole districts, to write educational books and works of practical piety, to superintend Christian churches, to multiply and superintend Christian schools for the poor, to give to each mission the aid of European medical skill, and above all, to train up a native ministry for each Indian nation, it is absolutely necessary that there should be four or five missionary families, at least, in every missionary locality. Till missionaries are everywhere thus grouped together, it seems to me vain to look for any great results. The Almighty works by suitable means, and we are bound to use them.'—p. 381.

Mr. Noel next grapples with the subject of a native ministry, a point the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. He has brought forth the substance of the argument in a very few words.

'1st. A native ministry, supposing it to be equally efficient, would be far more economical.

'2ndly. Ministers would be much more easily supplied in sufficient numbers from among the natives than they could from European nations, at the antipodes, speaking foreign languages, and used to other climes.

'Thirdly, Native ministers would, *cæteris paribus*, be much more effective, because they would speak their own language more fluently, and more correctly than foreigners can, &c.

'Fourthly, Native ministers would, *cæteris paribus*, labour both harder and longer than it is possible for Europeans to do, in a climate so trying to European constitutions.

'Fifthly, Native ministers are more on a level with the people than Europeans can be, who belong to the nation of conquerors, &c.

'Sixthly, The Hindoos have a notion that the Christian religion is the best for Europeans, but that theirs is the best for them, &c.'—pp. 382, 383.

These reasons are full of force, and their number might be augmented. The English societies, indeed, have long professed to be alive to the weight of such considerations, and desirous to act upon the principle; but hitherto very little has been accomplished. Preparations, nevertheless, are now making in various quarters, from which, in the course of a few years, we anticipate happy results.

Mr. Noel solemnly deprecates all missionary contact, in spreading the gospel in China, with opium smugglers, who 'are vending to the Chinese intoxication, insanity, vice, disease, and death.' He would have vessels hired, as the Huron, for missionary efforts alone. Let societies mark what follows:—

'In almost all cases, to avoid collision, each society should avoid placing its Missionaries in juxta position with those of other societies, it being of the greatest importance, that the divisions, which unhappily prevail in the Christian church at home, should not be sown among the unestablished converts in Missionary churches. Most carefully, therefore, should each society avoid entering on those spheres of labour which are already occupied by other societies, *with sound principles*.' —p. 390.

Mr. Noel is one of the very few churchmen, whether of the English or of the Scotch Establishment, who could consistently dispense such counsel. In these wise words our Church extensionists, both south and north, may see their own guilt, and read their own condemnation; and it is with no small regret we

state, that most of our Missionary Societies, too, have been culpably heedless, or ineptly regardless, of this principle, in the location of their missions in foreign lands. But we must next attend Mr. Noel in his views of the aid which various classes may render in this great work. Here he begins at the beginning—at the British throne! As this is something new for a clergyman—and not more novel than manly, magnanimous, just, and proper, we shall transcribe his own words:—

'And since it is an enterprise so excellent, that to engage in it adds dignity to the most noble; and since the will of the Almighty has been so plainly declared, that it must bind alike both the prince and the peasant; I venture to express my earnest prayer, that God would be pleased to incline our gracious Sovereign to use the great influence committed to her stewardship by him for the protection of this cause. Would she place herself at the head of the great Missionary Societies, affording them her zealous support, and uniting her prayers with the prayers of the people of God in every land, this, besides being the expression of her own dutiful zeal for the cause of Christ, which would gladden the hearts of all the most religious persons throughout her dominions, would also powerfully attract the attention of the worldly and the thoughtless, and lead them to add their contributions to this work of mercy. Her zeal might thus not only aid the Missions, but be serviceable to her whole kingdom.'—pp. 392, 393.

Our readers will allow that this is not amiss for a royal chaplain. The penning of these thoughts, of course, preceded the writer's elevation to his present honour; but we feel confident they are his thoughts still. Will their mitred lordships say amen to Mr. Noel's prayer? Were these men faithful to their royal mistress, and did their own spirit and deportment sustain the expression of that fidelity, Mr. Noel's aspiration might, at a day not very distant, be fully realized. But then Ascot! Epsom! the Opera! Covent Garden! the Masked Ball!—what of these?

'Ay, there's the rub.'

We leave this point to the royal chaplains and the bishops, taking leave, however, to observe, that it will be a happy day for England, when the Illustrious Occupant of its Throne shall, upon this subject, see eye to eye with her honourable and reverend chaplain. Such a change would be fraught with results to the cause of Missions, Morals, and Piety, at present inconceivable. Well: the cause of Christ will live; the time may be distant, but it will assuredly arrive, when 'The Kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents; the Kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts: yea, all kings shall fall down before Him; all nations shall serve Him.'

Mr. Noel next proceeds to read a wholesome lecture to her

Majesty's ministers, to noblemen, gentlemen, and rich merchants; to captains of the navy, to English residents in the neighbourhood of each mission, to young men of piety and talents, and to ministers of the gospel. All these classes receive a word in season, while a few excellent thoughts on worldliness, strife, and unbelief, on the necessity of Divine aid, and the duty of fervent prayer, conclude the volume.

Our readers will see that the spirit and the matter of this volume throughout bespeak the practical understanding, the devout spirit, and the generous heart of Baptist Noel. The work, in all that respects the spirit and matter of it, does him extraordinary credit. As a volume offered for the Scottish prize, it is, in nearly all the points specified in the 'Advertisement,' a total failure. It was in fact almost preposterous to present it for adjudication, unless as a rebuke to the donors, for the absurdity of their plan. In this latter light, the act was full of wisdom. It is so far an off-hand, and somewhat careless specimen of the very work which the present state of the Missionary Enterprise required. It proclaims itself at once to be the production of a man of a highly missionary spirit—of a man who is equally familiar with the entire subject, and the whole field of Missions—of a man who, had his diligence been equal to his abilities and attainments, might have given the world a work on Missions, which would have been long remembered. It is decidedly more *ad rem* than any of the other four Essays,—a circumstance resulting from an utter neglect of the specifications, which he seems hardly to have read, or heartily to have despised, as altogether wanting in adaptation to the necessities of the Missionary undertaking. We look upon it as a valuable supplement to the other Essays, between which and it, there is really very little in common.

Now, for Dr. Melson, who tells us, in his title-page, that he is senior secretary to the Wesleyan Methodist Auxiliary Missionary Society for the Birmingham and Shrewsbury district. That the writer of the book was a Wesleyan, might have been confidently concluded, from its internal character. It consists of five Parts, subdivided into sections. There is, throughout the volume, a fair measure of bombast, and, occasionally, a small spice of nonsense, but still it is not without merit. Dr. Melson is not merely a physician, but a Divine, and cuts up a text with as much hardihood as he would cut up a man. Assuming that 'truth in *maximis* is not inconsistent with truth in *minimis*,' he wars most valiantly against all his opposers, of whatever class, and shews why the believer is 'to reflect abroad the lustre of heaven, as it falls upon him from the broad disc, whose fires create the noontide glory of the New Jerusalem, and gild her palaces with ever-

orient light.' After overwhelming the whole world of Calvinists, both high and low, he proceeds to prove 'that a measure of the influences of the Holy Spirit has been given unto all men,' and, in support of his proposition, calls in the aid of Greek and Italian, the Seventy, Diodati, and the Rev. Walter Lawry, avowing his anticipation of a time when the waters 'shall flow in one unbroken stream into the *ocean of human society*, purifying its *corrupt depths*, and healing its *poisonous waves*.'

Having ended the five homilies, which compose the First Part, and about a third of the volume, Dr. Melson reaches the ground again, and condescends to speak of points within his province. He takes up, in Part Second, the question of duty, and enforces it well. In Part Third, we have 'the performance of the duty practically developed,' under the heads of counsel, personal service, pecuniary contribution, and prayer. This is done in a feeble manner, but in a devout spirit, and in point of sentiment, there is little that is liable to objection. Part Fourth exhibits the privilege forcibly, and in an excellent tone; while Part Fifth, in the same strain, expatiates on the encouragement. Such is an outline of the work before us, which, as we have said of another, had it appeared at some other season, and alone, would, upon the whole, have been deemed a respectable performance. It deserves publication, and will be read with profit and pleasure.

We have now discharged our duty, in relation to these five prize volumes, the critical examination of which has supplied us with no small amount of pleasing occupation. Notwithstanding our emphatic but conscientious censure of the donors and committee of management, we nevertheless feel bound to tender them our sincere thanks for their services in this, by far the first of human causes. We consider, at the same time, that they have been highly honoured by the Head of the Church, in being permitted thus to share in so glorious an enterprise. The appearance of these and of other contemporaneous works on the subject, will constitute an era in the history of missions. They serve to indicate the hold which the enterprise has taken upon the sanctified genius and talent of the country, and to show that a portion of the leading men in both kingdoms have, at length, become absorbed in this transcendent question, which not only advances in the church, but in the world. It has not merely ceased to be an object of contempt and ridicule to men of science and letters; it has at length compelled the homage of the highest classes and the first intellects of the empire. No man, with the slightest claim to either sense or virtue, will now dare, even in the dark, to lift up his voice, or to move his pen, against the advocates of missions. The batteries of infidelity are silenced. Politicians, too, have learned that a man may be a missionary

without being a maniac, and that people may support missions, and yet remain the friends of social order, while of that order, where it exists, the missionary himself is not only the best supporter, but also its most efficient promoter where it is not. It is now becoming clear, even to philosophic philanthropy, that missions are the sole hope of a sorrowing world; that 'the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.'

We thank the writers, successful and unsuccessful, known and unknown, of the works to which the Scottish prizes have given existence. There is a moral certainty, as we have already hinted, that a number more of the essays deserve to see the light, and we hope some of them, with such modifications as fresh experience and further reflection may suggest, will some day make their appearance. At any rate, a high point has been gained, in addition to the works which are before the public, by thus turning the intense attention of a large number of leading minds to the general subject. Such minds, by their recent exercise, must have acquired much enlarged views of the general question, and these views must have imparted to their subjects a fresh stimulus, a powerful impulse, which will variously operate and be long felt in their respective circles. The effect will be visible, even where the cause remains a secret. Then no inconsiderable amount of good may be anticipated from the public criticism to which the published works have given rise. Whatever tends to deepen views, promotes impression. Whatever contributes to excite right feeling, augments healthful action. The general study of these volumes must conduce to the accomplishment of these objects. Notwithstanding such works, however, and others of a kindred character, the subject is by no means exhausted. That subject, indeed, is inexhaustible. Its bearings extend with every year: its importance rises every hour.

There are the works. But we must remind our readers, with all the solemnity which the subject inspires, that the matter must not rest here! Such works were intended to be only a means to an end. 'That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.' Unless these volumes be thoroughly read and devoutly pondered by Pastors, Deacons, and all who are concerned in carrying on the work of missions, how can they be instrumental in effecting the desired end? The volumes are given; action is required. Something more is wanted than oral or written criticism. The absolute or the comparative merits of these treatises are but secondary matters. The most meagre of them presents a dreadful indictment against the whole Christian world; and opens up a course of action, which, if devoutly and zealously adopted by all the true disciples of the gospel, would soon change

the whole aspect of the missionary warfare. Any of the authors has done enough to establish a grievous charge of great unfaithfulness against all Christian churches. The wisdom of the arraigned is to plead guilty, and to humble themselves under God's almighty hand, while they implore the forgiveness of the past, and, by a renewed baptism from on high, prepare for the future.

There is one class to whom, in connexion with these works, we look with great solicitude—the directors of our various missionary societies. The position and function of these bodies involve an awful responsibility. They move the men who move the world. Far more than Imlac's poet, the agents whom they select, appoint, and control, are the interpreters of truth, the legislators of mankind, and must be considered as spirits presiding over the thoughts, manners, and destinies of future generations, as beings superior to time and place. What manner of men ought such directing bodies then to be in wisdom, prudence, and piety, in every virtue and in every grace, in all the attributes both of their moral and intellectual nature? With what care should they be selected! What pains should be taken to give the churches a right conception of the character required by the function! It is not enough that the director be a good, an opulent, a liberal, and a leisurable man. He ought to be an intelligent man, and a man of general knowledge. To a director nothing can be useless. He ought, in particular, to be an adept in geography, and well read in general history; but above all, to be most intimately conversant with the annals of the Christian church, with the history of the propagation of Christianity, and with the present condition of the missionary field. We need hardly say that hitherto this subject has excited but little notice. Any worthy pious gentleman has been considered perfectly competent to be a director of a missionary society; and to prove how lightly the subject has been thought of, and how little is made of experience, the directoral body is annually changed. These things, we submit, ought not so to be. The entire system wants revision. In the mean time we take the liberty of earnestly recommending to this class of gentlemen the careful and prolonged study of the works before us. The thorough mastery of the volumes of Dr. Harris, and of Messrs. Hamilton, Macfarlane, and Noel, ought to be attempted and achieved by every director of every missionary society; while their habitual favourite course of study should lie amid the literature of missions.

There is another class of individuals, whose importance is in the inverse ratio of their numbers, who stand associated with this great theme—secretaries. On the secretaries of all auxiliary local missionary societies and associations, much, very much, must always depend. They will often have much to do in the

way of creating and fostering a missionary spirit around them. They will everywhere have to enlighten ignorance and arouse apathy. Now, they who are to teach must know; they who are to animate the dead must themselves be in flames. All such are required to be diligent students of missionary literature, and to be filled with a generous and lofty enthusiasm in the cause. To the office of the secretaries of the parent societies, of course, still more importance attaches. They ought to be, in all points, the very first men that their several communities can supply. They ought, further, to be divested of all pastoral care, however insignificant, that their undivided attention may be given to their duties; and for their services let them receive a liberal, a handsome compensation. If we cannot obtain, all at once, competent directories, let us, at least, have accomplished and efficient secretaries. This function well deserves the finest talents and the greatest powers, while it demands hearts all, and always, on fire with apostolic zeal for the glory of Christ and the salvation of men. We would not have such secretaries oppressed with labour; their province is more to direct toil than to perform it. We would leave them time for reflection and for inquiry, for study and for devotion. As 'the field is the world,' we would have them to know the world, to have the missionary map all in their eye, and to be as conversant with the spheres of the labours of all other societies as with those of their own. We would have them to know all that is needful to be known of the inhabitants of all heathen lands, and to be incessantly on the stretch of investigation. We would have them highly qualified, and give them sufficient leisure, in all needful ways, to use the press. We would have special and important periodical publications in furtherance of the grand object under their care and control. We would have all the secretaries of all the societies to be burning and shining lights, men full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom, so that whenever and wheresoever they meet each other, they may alway after be able to say—

> 'Smit with the love of kindred arts we came,
> And met congenial, mingling flame with flame.'

Some dozen or two of such men would be the greatest gift that the munificent Head of the church could bestow upon the human race. In voluntary conventions for missionary objects, the secretaries must be the main spring. It lies with them to mould all and to move all. Power is necessary to the fulfilment of their office; skill is necessary to the wise use of their power. Let them magnify the one, and let them look upward for the other.

We look also, in conclusion, to the churches of Christ and the ministers of the gospel, to our sabbath-school teachers and their

charge, to prove that these works have not been published in vain. Let them betake themselves earnestly to diffuse the knowledge and to cultivate the spirit of missions; and that they may do so with effect, let them convert these works into manuals, meditating, night and day, their contents, till, filled with knowledge and fired with zeal, the church of our times shall once more 'look forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.'

We cannot conclude the present article without a passing tribute to Dr. Duff, of Calcutta, to whose zeal in behalf of missions the Scottish prizes, and all the works which have sprung from them, may be distinctly traced. He is understood to have been, some fifteen or sixteen years ago, one of a little band of students, in the University of St. Andrew, whose missionary spirit and extraordinary talents formed an era in that ancient seat of learning. They shone as stars of the first order, in a class which Dr. Chalmers, in a reference made to one of them who found an early grave, designated a 'class of uncommon force and brilliancy.' His career in Calcutta has, from the commencement, been one of a remarkable character, and it promises to be attended with extraordinary results. The Indian press, from year to year, testifies to the merits of the General Assembly's Institution. We find the Courier, the government paper, and the Hurkaru, the organ of the Liberals, cordially concurring in a hearty approval, and something more, of Dr. Duff's great educational experiment. In such a matter, however, there are two other journals which have far more weight with us and with the religious public of Great Britain, the Christian Advocate, the organ of the Independents, and the Friend of India, issued by the Serampore Baptists, both of which we are happy to see attesting the claims of Dr. Duff's seminary. In referring to the annual examination of January last, the former adverts to that examination as 'very searching,' and bears witness to the 'thorough acquaintance manifested with the subjects under discussion;' and the latter affirms that it does 'not know of any examination here which approaches in interest to the examination of the General Assembly's Institution.'

It seems there are upwards of eight hundred pupils of various ages, classes, and castes, thus drinking at the fount of European science, sanctified by Christian knowledge. This institution must be viewed as a most important section in the circle of means for the elevation of India; and we consider Dr. Duff, beyond most living men, qualified for the high place which the Head of the Church has assigned him. For intellectual power, for argumentative skill, for popular eloquence, for a ready capacity both in acquiring and communicating all sorts of knowledge, for con-

stitutional ardour, and for christian zeal, in our judgment he has few superiors. With such qualities it is not a marvel that he has become the pet and pride of the Scotch establishment, as well as won the confidence, while he compelled the homage, of the affluent and educated classes of Calcutta. His oratorical appearances, on behalf of India, in our metropolis, a few years ago, will be long remembered by those who heard him; while it is matter of history that his eloquent itinerant effusions throughout the pulpits of his native land, during the period of his stay for the recovery of health, were the main instrument of exciting that spirit of missionary enterprise which now distinguishes the Scottish establishment. Dr. Duff has written a large work regarding India and his own system of procedure there, besides some minor pieces, in all of which there is much to approve and to admire, whilst for what is crude and extravagant in thought, or artificial and false in eloquence, we find an ample apology in his position, years, and temperament.

Art. VII. *Encyclopædia Ægyptiaca; or, Dictionary of Egyptian Antiquities.* By Thomas John Pettigrew, F.R.S., &c. No. I. Whittaker and Co. 1842.

This is the first number of a work, which promises to supply a great desideratum in our antiquarian literature. It is not our custom to notice the first numbers of serial publications at any length, but we are induced to do so in the present instance, from the desire to encourage an undertaking which will not be continued unless this first and experimental portion induces a number of subscribers to send in their names sufficient to secure the author *against any positive loss.* Considering the great expense of bringing out works of this nature, and the limited demand for them, this is a very proper precaution, though it affords a discouraging glimpse at the true condition of our 'market of literature.' As matters now stand, the 'success' of a work is not tested by its fitness, its usefulness, or even its reputation, nor by the research, or skill, or learning it exhibits, but by the number of copies which are sold. Nothing can be a more fallacious test of desert than this; for from the deficiency of high education among us, there is the want of a remunerative demand for works of the highest class, and it may be that the subject itself is of interest only to a small number of highly cultivated minds, which, however, distribute over the land, in her thousand irrigating rills, the aliment which *they* imbibe. It will certainly not be said that the works which give light and knowledge to the few

who are to enlighten the many, are the least worthy of encouragement. Yet, practically, they are the least encouraged. Publishers will give large sums for works likely to obtain an extensive sale, but they shrink from incurring the slightest risk in connexion with the very works on which the largest amount of time and labour has been bestowed. Nor are they to be blamed for this; as, being tradesmen, they naturally seek the most profitable investments for their capital, and those by which the quickest returns may be realized. But the result is, that the substantial rewards of literature are gathered by those whose books are 'made to sell,' and that the highest and worthiest class of works can only be produced by men of property, or of professional independence, who can afford not only to *give* their time and labour, but to incur the risk of pecuniary loss, for the sake of imparting to the public the treasures, to bring which together has perhaps obliged them for many years

'To scorn delights and live laborious days.'

To those who would be safe from this latter contingency, there seem to remain but two alternatives—that of selling the work so dear that it will pay its expenses with a small circulation; or that which Dr. Pettigrew has chosen, of securing, by subscriptions, an indemnity for the expenses before they are actually incurred. However common formerly, the latter course is now unusual; and the former, which is more frequent, has the serious evil of rendering those books the most costly which are the most necessary to scholars and literary men, who have seldom much superfluity of wealth. In all this there is some great wrong, which we may take another occasion of more carefully analyzing.

Dr. Pettigrew states that 'the Encyclopædia Ægyptiaca' has been undertaken at the suggestion and by the persuasion of some of the most eminent of our Egyptian scholars, who have, with the utmost liberality, offered not only the use of their portfolios, and notes made during their researches and travels in the East, but have also volunteered their assistance in the composition of several of the articles to be included in the work. It is presumed that such a publication, the materials of which have been collected by the author from the year 1825 to the present time, embracing the period during which nearly all the most important discoveries in Egyptian archæology have been made, will form a valuable addition to our scientific and antiquarian literature. It will, undoubtedly; and no one who has paid the least attention to this new and curious branch of study, will question the very peculiar competency of the author of 'The

History of Egyptian Mummies' for the arduous task he has undertaken.

Hoping to have a future occasion of surveying the work in its finished state, we shall only here remark, that this first number comprises a cursory and able 'General View of Ancient Egypt,' with six pages of the 'Encyclopædia,' and two lithographed plates, one of them coloured. A work of this nature ought to be very carefully revised; and we hope that we shall not in the future numbers see any such 'errors of the press' as 'American' instead of 'Armenian,' 'Heshbron' instead of 'Heshbon,' and 'adulterers' instead of 'adulterators'—of bread.'

Art. VIII. *Brief Notices of Hayti; with its Condition, Resources, and Prospects.* By John Candler. London: Ward and Co.

Hayti lies without the beaten path of European travellers, and is, in consequence, little known to our countrymen. This is to be regretted on many accounts, and was painfully felt during our recent abolition struggle. Appeals were perpetually made by pro-slavery advocates to the condition of the Haytians, as proof of the unfitness of the negro population for freedom; and such appeals had an influence far beyond their due, owing to the want of accurate information amongst us. Recent events, however, have been favourable to a more correct estimate of the character, resources, and prospects of this young republic, whose condition and welfare are now beginning deeply to interest our countrymen. There is much of tragedy in the history of Hayti. It is full of deep, fearful interest, and reads a lesson which rulers and task-masters would do well to ponder. The island was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and was soon crowded by European adventurers, who reduced the natives to slavery. A French colony subsequently established itself on a part of the island which was ceded to France by the treaty of Ryswick. The restrictions imposed by the mother country grievously crippled, for a time, the trade of the colony, but being removed in the early part of the eighteenth century, its resources were fully developed and large profits were realized by the planters.

Such was the condition of the island on the breaking out of the French revolution in 1789. Two years later the National Convention, in the first fervour of its patriotism, ceded to the people of colour a full enjoyment of all the rights belonging to French citizens, and thus determined both the direction and the issue of the struggle which was pending over the colony. The planters were incensed beyond measure at this procedure, and openly

defied the authority of the mother country. The national cockade was trampled under foot, and a determination avowed to maintain by force the supremacy of their class. On the other hand the people of colour began to arm for the defence of their new rights, and everything betokened a deadly strife between the two bodies, when a new party, equally dreaded and equally oppressed by both, interposed in the quarrel. This party consisted of the slaves, who rose in immense numbers, infuriated by a goading sense of oppression, and thirsting for revenge. The atrocities which were perpetrated beggar all description and are happily unparalleled in modern history. They were practised equally by both parties. The war assumed a diabolical character, and all prisoners on either side were either massacred at once or reserved for the more protracted sufferings of a public execution. It is not our design to track the course of this servile war, the fortunes of which varied greatly. The cause of humanity gained much by the appointment, in 1797, of Touissant l'Ouverture to the generalship of the negro forces. This illustrious man—illustrious notwithstanding his servile origin—set an example of humanity to his more civilized opponents, while he taught them to respect the bravery and discipline of his troops. Few men have exceeded Touissant in the higher and more noble qualities of our nature. Considering the position from which he rose, and the circumstances amid which his rule was exercised, his character and history constitute the redeeming element of a struggle otherwise so dark and revolting. He upheld the fortunes and humanized the spirit of his race, and when compelled, by the arrival of an overwhelming force from France, to retire to the mountains of the interior, he still watched with untiring vigilance over their interests, and was prompt to take advantage of the slightest imprudence on the part of their enemies. Treachery at length effected what force had failed to accomplish. The negro chief and his family were privately seized by General Leclerc, and shipped off to France, where Touissant died in April 1803. He left behind him, however, a glorious legacy, which his countrymen did not fail to improve. The intelligence of his seizure and forcible embarkation—in open defiance of the treaty which had been formed—spread universal alarm and indignation amongst the negroes. Several chiefs instantly appeared at the head of large bodies of black troops, and a terrible struggle ensued. Each party felt it to be a question of life and death, and the barbarities practised surpass belief. The restraining spirit of Touissant was gone, and the vengeance inflicted by his countrymen was fearfully retaliated by the French. The fortunes of the latter steadily declined, and in the fall of 1803 they were compelled to evacuate the island and relinquish all hope of re-establishing their supremacy. A formal declaration of inde-

pendence was issued in 1804, and Dessalines was elected governor-general for life.

Such was the issue of a struggle between the untutored and half-savage slaves of St. Domingo and the veteran forces of the then most military power in Europe. Nearly forty years have now elapsed since the emancipated negroes commenced their experiment at self-government, and Mr. Candler's volume will assist us in ascertaining the result which has been obtained. The problem was at first more than doubtful, and some of the events which transpired in the course of the experiment were adapted to induce a temporary misgiving on the part of the best friends of Africa. The result, however, is now before us, and it is not too much to say, considering the circumstances under which their emancipation was effected, its suddenness, the diabolical character of the struggle which preceded it, and the complicated means which force and craft employed to throw them back into the lowest scale of barbarism,—that it is far more favourable than history would have led us to anticipate, or the probabilities of the case have permitted us even to hope for. But we must not anticipate our author, whose discrimination and obvious impartiality give weight to the favourable testimony which he bears.

Hayti is four times as large as Jamaica, and nearly equal in extent to Ireland. It is situated at the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico, and lies westward of Jamaica about forty leagues. Prior to the revolution, the island was divided between the Spanish and the French, the former occupying about two-thirds of the soil, though greatly inferior in number to the latter. No political distinction of territory, however, now exists, as the whole is united under one ruler, and yields cheerful obedience to his laws. The present population of the Spanish part is estimated at 130,000, while that of the French nearly equals 700,000. It is to the latter portion of the island that Mr. Candler's volume relates, and the details which it furnishes are adapted to awaken equal interest in the politician, the merchant, and the philanthropist.

The work is as valuable as it is unpretending. It is written in an admirable style, and breathes through every page a spirit of enlightened philanthropy and of sound wisdom. Declining the task of a historian, the author has aimed at exhibiting 'the present state of Hayti, with its resources and prospects,' and has happily succeeded in presenting, within a narrow compass, a large mass of interesting information respecting a people but little known to the English public. Mr. Candler is a member of the Society of Friends, and in the latter part of 1839, left England, accompanied by his wife, on a missionary tour to Jamaica. In his voyage thither, he coasted the northern shores of Hayti, which presented 'a picture of gloom and grandeur

calculated deeply to impress the mind.' For hundreds of miles no living thing, save here and there a mariner in a solitary skiff, or land and sea birds, was visible; and the solitariness of the region awakened melancholy inquiries in the sensitive mind of the voyager. Proceeding thence to Jamaica, Mr. Candler had ample opportunities of witnessing the happy effects of the emancipation act, which he records in brief and emphatic terms:—

'It is not,' he remarks, 'the object of this little volume to detail the incidents of our travels in Jamaica, an island so often visited, and so well known; but we cannot, in connexion with it, avoid a brief notice of that memorable event, which has done so much to change the condition of its people, and seems fraught with such inestimable blessings to posterity. Here we trace the interesting spectacle of a colony, once deeply distressed, and clamouring for fiscal aid to the mother country, now smiling in prosperity, and brightened by mercantile hope; not long since distracted by civil disturbances, the fruits of oppression, inseparable from its institutions; now enjoying peace and tranquillity, with a docile, loyal, industrious population, whom the Queen of England, or the ruler of any nation, might well be gratified to own as subjects. The grand experiment of giving unqualified freedom to the slaves of Jamaica and our other West Indian Islands, has been attended with the happiest success. All classes of the population rejoice in the result.'

He subsequently tells us, that in visiting almost every district of the island, he scarcely met with an individual who regretted the change. From the governor and judges, down to the meanest official, 'all bore their unqualified testimony to the important fact, that freedom works well.' This testimony is fully sustained by the reports of many other impartial witnesses; indeed, it has seldom happened that such a concurrence of favourable evidence has been obtained, on any matter involving the passions and the interests of various parties. The successful issue of our colonial experiment cannot fail to exert an important influence on the general interests of humanity. It has demonstrated what was before problematical, has removed the perplexities by which philanthropy was enfeebled, and reduced to the intelligible character of fact the convictions and hopes entertained by the benevolent and the good. What was mere theory in former years is now matter of history, and the evidence furnished is so clear and decisive as to set incredulity and selfishness at defiance.

Mr. Candler landed at Cape Haytien, January 1, 1841, amidst the festivities of the thirty-seventh anniversary of the independence of the republic. There are no hotels in Hayti, and he had therefore to obtain private apartments, in the selection of which he was more fortunate than is frequently the case

with travellers in Europe. At the house of a respectable coloured matron he 'was handsomely entertained, at a moderate cost:' and was permitted to land the elementary and religious books which he had taken with him, free of duty. This was the more gratifying, as he had been informed that he would 'probably have much difficulty in getting them passed at all.' The courtesy experienced on this occasion was highly honourable to the authorities, and deserves to be recorded. Mr. Candler remarks:—

'Our escape from trouble and cost on this occasion, was partly owing to a young mulatto who had been in Europe, and knew something of the religious society to which we belonged, who told the sable chief he might safely depend on our word. We are bound to bear testimony to this act of kindness on the part of the authorities, and to state that, in passing through the island, we received everywhere from this and every other class of public functionaries, polite and confiding attentions. Let not the white man, in the pride of his complexion, look down with disdain on these black republicans; there are men in office in the island of Hayti, both black and coloured, who would bear comparison with men of the same class in any part of the world. Having entered our names at the civil tribunal, and promised submission to the laws of the state during our sojourn, we were left at liberty to act as we pleased, and to go anywhere within the limits of the Cape. Whoever travels in the interior must procure a passport from the General commanding the *arrondissement*.'—p. 16.

Amongst the various rulers of Hayti, mention is frequently made of Christophe, in whose character were strangely blended the qualities of a barbarian chief and of a sagacious statesman. His cruelty and despotism won their appropriate reward, and he ultimately fell by his own hand, in order to escape from a conspiracy of his troops. Christophe clearly discovered many of the necessities of his people, but greatly erred in the means he adopted to supply them. This is not surprising. His position naturally accounts for it. Born in slavery, and reared amidst the convulsions of a servile war, his knowledge was limited, and his class antipathies were of the most violent order.

'This great man,' remarks our author, 'for great he was as well as cruel, had the sagacity to see that nothing but education could raise the mass of his subjects from the heathen ignorance and degradation into which slavery had plunged them. He resolved, therefore, on establishing schools for boys and a college; and his purposes for good, as well as for evil, being always acted on with energy, he addressed letters to the philanthropists of England, invited over competent masters, built school rooms, imported books and lessons, set up printing presses, and began the good work of education for this class of his subjects, with a diligent, unsparing hand. The education of girls was wholly neglected. Few schools were set up at first, or indeed at any time, in the rural districts; but one at least was established in every town.

The common branches of elementary education were taught, together with the English language, which he vainly hoped might be made to supersede the French, and the mathematics. Young men were trained at the college to serve as engineers, physicians, and classical instructors. Several of the schools are now extinct, but the fruits of them remain; the encouragement thus given to learning has had its influence on Haytien society to the present day. Several civilians and officers of the army, who were taught in these schools, are men of capability and intelligence, and speak the English language fluently; they venerate our country, and our tongue remains an object of study and emulation to their children. Christophe was not only the patron of education but of industry; and it gave him pleasure to see his country recovering the ground lost in the civil wars, and advancing in name and wealth. He promoted industry on the principles laid down by his predecessor, Toussaint, but went far beyond him in urging the severities of the rural code: this among other things tended to render him unpopular; and when remonstrated with by Sir Home Popham, the English Admiral who came on a visit to him from Jamaica, he justified himself on the ground that he understood best the character of his own people, and that decision, firmness, and severity, were indispensable. He desired also, and earnestly promoted the extension of legitimate commerce, which he followed up very much after the manner of the present Pacha of Egypt, and had many points in his character which would have made him to rank high among rulers, had not ambition and tyranny marred the great and generous qualities which really existed in his mind.'—pp. 34—36.

Mr. Candler frequently recurs to the state of education in the republic, and though his account is far from flattering, it furnishes ground to hope for future good. When it is remembered how little has been done in the way of popular education in our own country, we need not be surprised at the deficiency alleged to exist in the black community of Hayti. Referring to Cape Haytien, he observes:—

'The high school of Cape Haytien was founded by Christophe in 1816, and is conducted on the monitorial system: the lessons used are those of the Borough Road School, and the Scriptures without comment are used as a class-book. The master has a salary from the government of seventy Haytien dollars per month, equal in the present depreciated currency to 63*l.* sterling per annum, and is allowed the liberty of receiving a few private pupils on his own account, who pay him about fifty shillings each per annum for instruction. The average attendance of boys is 135 daily, who are engaged in study seven hours a-day, during five days of the week. The pupils are well-instructed in the common branches of learning, and are taught to think, to exercise the memory, and to behave politely. Some of the forwardest of the boys are taught the English language by a Creole professor, who speaks it well. Children of African descent excel in the imitative arts, and hence they write a good hand; the specimens of penmanship we

saw in this school were admirable. The management of it altogether —the quietness—the docility of the boys—their reading, and their compositions, would reflect credit on any institution of the sort in any country. Besides this school, there are in the city seven private schools for boys, averaging forty pupils each; and nine for girls, averaging fifteen each. There are also four professors, or tutors, who give lessons to about fifty children at their own homes. The total number of children of both sexes receiving education at the Cape is about 550, or one-sixteenth of the entire population: about half as many in proportion to the population as receive education in *the towns* of Jamaica. The difference between these two islands in regard to education is very great. In Jamaica, schools are fast spreading over the whole country, and begin to act beneficially on the rural population; in Hayti, they are confined exclusively to the towns, and in the country, where at least seven-eighths of the population is to be found, there is as much ignorance as in the days of slavery.'—pp. 41, 42.

At Port-au-Prince, the capital, there are two scholastic institutions supported by the government; one on the principle of mutual instruction for the poor, and the other a lyceum or college for young men. The attendance at the first is small, and the proficiency of the boys very limited; but the latter institution is highly respectable, and does much honour to the community. The English, French, Spanish, and Italian languages are taught, together with the mathematics, history, composition, and fencing. The teachers are well qualified for their vocation, and the progress of the students, who number about one hundred and fifty, and belong chiefly to the mulatto class, is represented as highly gratifying. Our author attended one of the public examinations, but 'came away greatly disappointed' at the pre-eminence assigned to the art of fencing. This fact, though perfectly natural in the past circumstances of the republic, is much to be deplored, as it exerts 'a most prejudicial effect on the community' in promoting the practice of duelling, and in keeping up the military spirit which has operated so adversely to the commercial prosperity of the island. We shall be glad to find that our author's enforcement of the claims of Hayti has due influence on the friends of education in this country:—

'Education is at a rather lower ebb at Port-au-Prince than at Cape Haytien: the total number supposed to receive instruction in the city is about a thousand, as follows:—

Boys at the school for mutual instruction - -	80
At the Lyceum - - - - - -	150
At fifteen private pedagogue schools - -	450
Girls at eight seminaries and dame schools -	200
Boys and girls taught at home - - -	120
Total - - - -	1000

'This number is small, but the proportion of black children, unhappily, is still smaller. Out of 23,000 inhabitants, the coloured class may number, perhaps, 4000, or one-sixth part of the whole; yet this is the class that may be said to monopolize education. Children who claim their descent from European fathers have no greater aptitude to learn than children of pure African blood; but the ancestors of the latter having been slaves, and not having been taught to read, were unable to appreciate the value of education. Indifference to knowledge, from this cause, has extended from one generation to another, and has become a rooted habit of mind; which requires the most firm, judicious, and persevering care to eradicate. The subject of education in Hayti is well worthy the attention of philanthropists. Schools must be established, maintained, and multiplied in the island, or it will never recover itself from the dominion of semi-heathenism, superstition, and priestcraft, by which its people are still fettered, or be likely to put forth that industry which will increase the fruits of the soil, and enable it, as an agricultural and commercial country, to take rank among civilized nations. If the government of Hayti, stimulated by precept, and assisted by the efforts of the friends of education in England, be determined to exert itself to spread light and knowledge, the fatal lethargy of the black people will soon be shaken off. With ample means to educate their children, they only want the disposition: the priests, who too generally 'love darkness rather than light,' may for a time oppose the movement, but every difficulty may be overcome by perseverance.'—pp. 75—77.

To such of our readers as are desirous of knowing what sort of a place the capital of a black republic is, the following description of Port-au-Prince will be acceptable:—

'The stranger on first landing at Port-au-Prince, the capital of Hayti, feels greatly disappointed. Instead of a handsome city, such as it appears from the ship's deck at sea, rising on a gradual elevation from the shore, and adorned with good houses and gardens, you enter into streets of wooden buildings, with the pavement dislocated or broken up, the drains neglected, and filth and stable dung interrupting your steps in every direction. The quay is spacious, but the water is shallow near the shore; and all sorts of uncleanliness are suffered to annoy the senses. A constant malaria is the consequence, which at certain seasons of the year renders the lower quarter of the city very sickly, and occasions much mortality among the sailors from foreign ports. Port-au-Prince, with all its advantages of situation, with every inherent capability of being made and kept delightfully clean, is perhaps the filthiest capital in the world. The houses in general are of two stories, built slightly of wood, to avoid the rend and tear occasioned by earthquakes, which at different times have nearly demolished the city. Some few of the better habitations are of brick or stone, and may be called handsome edifices. The senate-house is a plain substantial building, with no pretension to splendour; and the palace of the President, the largest edifice in the city, was built by the

English, for the General's head-quarters, during their temporary occupation of the south of the island; and is, therefore, as little like a royal palace as any republican could desire. The Haytien flag, of red and blue, floats on its turrets; and it has in front a spacious court, in which are lodges for the military guard of horse and foot, who are constantly on duty. These are the only public buildings worthy of notice. The Roman-catholic church is a capacious structure, but very plain and homely. There are some pleasant walks and rides in the immediate vicinity, especially in the hills above the town, and on the roads leading to Pétionville and Leogane; but none is more generally agreeable than the extensive park-like fields at the back of the president's house, where horsemen and pedestrians repair every morning and evening to enjoy the cool breezes and to watch the rising and setting of the sun. The public cemetery is a spot of ground which every stranger should visit; and a funeral procession at the close of day, winding along the public paths that lead to it, produces a very striking and solemn effect. The black boys in their white surplices, bearing lighted tapers—the massive silver crucifix—the mitred abbé and his attendant priests and choristers—the coffin placed on an open palanquin—and a long train of citizens—the men habited in black, the women in white—passing now through the public street, and now in side paths under the shade of tropical trees, afford a picture which has no counterpart in our own country. The length of the city is about a mile; its breadth something less. The population is estimated at twenty-three thousand. Numerous ships lie at anchor in the harbour, bearing the flags of different nations, and the bustle of commerce is constantly going on. The custom-house stands on the quay, and is a scene of great activity.'—pp. 69—71.

More difficulty was experienced here than at Cape Haytien in procuring comfortable lodgings. Two large apartments, however, on the ground floor, in one of the principal streets, were at length obtained, at a weekly cost, including board at the public table, of 3*l.* 17*s.* sterling.

On passing through the island, Mr. Candler had ample opportunities of observing the condition of the common people, confidence in whom he represents as rarely or never misplaced. 'Strangers may travel in every part of the country, night and day, without danger of being robbed or molested.' The men pass much of their time in idleness, their wants being few and readily supplied, while the women are mostly well dressed, and the general appearance of the country affords 'abundant indications of a rising and thriving population.'

Our author was introduced to the president, General Boyer; and his account of the interview will be read with pleasure by all who are interested in the prospects of the republic.

'An aid-de-camp in waiting led me to the hall of audience; and in a few minutes after, the President himself, attired in a plain suit of

black, entered by a private door, and taking me by the hand, requested me to follow him to his own apartment. The manners of the ruler of Hayti are simple and unaffected; to republican plainness he adds the polish of France, and preserves a quiet independent dignity suited to his rank and station. His age is sixty-eight; but his robust health and evident activity make him appear much younger. He is a mulatto, with the physiognomy of the French; is rather under than over the average height, and is neither thin nor corpulent; he has a keen expressive eye, and an intelligent countenance. With strangers he converses only in French, though he has travelled in America, and understands the English language. During the interview of half an hour, with which he kindly favoured me, he made particular inquiries after the venerable Clarkson, with whose character, as a strenuous advocate of the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, he was well acquainted; and of whom he had a more intimate knowledge than of other men, from his correspondence with Christophe, in which he manifested such an intense interest in the best welfare of Hayti. 'All the letters of Wilberforce and Clarkson, addressed to Monsieur Christophe,' such were his words, 'are in my possession: they thought highly of the man, but they did not understand his real character; they thought him the genuine friend of his country, but he deceived them.' 'I received a letter from Mr. Clarkson,' he continued, 'soon after the death of Christophe, in which he requested me to show kindness to his widow. I thought it somewhat singular; for though Christophe was a cruel man, and though he killed my own brother, I would have forfeited my life a thousand times rather than have shown unkindness to his widow. I always protected Madame Christophe.' 'He entertained,' he said, 'a high regard for the religious Society of Friends; he had known some of that body in America, and was acquainted with some of their customs. I might depend on his protection whilst in Hayti; and he had given an order to the authorities to furnish me with all the papers I had asked for, to illustrate the resources and condition of the republic.' He wished me, however, as a stranger, not to overlook the single fact, that Hayti was a young nation; that it was only yesterday that she was released from the menaces and fears of France by a new treaty of compensation for her territory; and that till the present time there had been no opportunity for the government to devote itself in earnest, on peace-principles, to improve the institutions of the country. On rising to take leave, I begged permission to present him with some religious publications, handsomely bound: he received them very courteously, and on observing a series of the tracts of the Peace Society, which had been translated into the French language, he said with an air and tone of sincerity, 'If the principles of that Society had been acted upon by the nations, what an accumulation of misery would the world have been spared!'—pp. 83, 84.

Mr. Candler obtained, through the president, several official papers, which afforded him material assistance in estimating the commerce, finances, and expenditure of the island, the number

and pay of the standing army, the employments and resources of the agricultural population, and the constitution of the republic in church and state. The information obtained on these points is given in the sixth chapter of his work, to which we direct the particular attention of the reader. The constitution of Hayti, as at present existing, was adopted in 1816. The government is confided to a president chosen for life, with power to nominate a successor, a right, however, being reserved to the senate to set aside such nomination and choose any other citizen. The legislative power, as in our own country, is vested in three branches. 1. The president, with whom all laws originate; 2. The senate, who are chosen from lists presented to the House of Assembly by the president, and whose term of official life is nine years; 3. The House of Representatives, elected for five years by the people. The salary of these officials, together with the practical working of the machine of government, is thus described:—

'The salary of the President is 40,000 Haytien dollars per annum, with an extra salary of 30,000 dollars when engaged in any one year in travelling through the island on a tour of inspection for the public good. Each Senator has a salary paid by the State of 133 dollars per month; and each Representative receives 200 dollars per month during the session of Congress. The Haytien dollar at the present rate of exchange is one shilling and eightpence. The salary of the President, therefore, in sterling money, is 3333*l.*; and, when travelling, 2500*l.* per annum in addition: the salary of a Senator is 133*l.* per annum; and that of a Representative to the House of Assembly, during a session of three months, about 50*l.* The constitution, however liberal it may appear in theory, and containing, as it does, some of the essential elements of a republic, is, in practice, often at variance with the liberties and true happiness of the people. The President is chosen for life: he takes care in presenting lists to the House of Representatives, for the choice of Senators, so to arrange the names as to ensure the election of the persons that he wishes; and from the comparative poverty and ignorance of many members of the House of Assembly, who are always subservient, he can influence the decision of that body at his pleasure, even so far as to induce them to expel any member who manifests the least show of resistance to his will. The President of Hayti, being governor for life, generalissimo of the forces, head of the church, and fountain of honour and rewards, is thus a sovereign in all but the name. The maxims of his government are those of clemency, and to rule for the people's good; but a mistaken view of what that good really requires, leads him occasionally into acts of substantial injustice. The constitution prescribes that a law should be passed to regulate the choice of soldiers for the army: no project of such a law has yet been presented, and the citizens are called out, impressed, and compelled to serve in the ranks at the will of the executive.'—pp. 86, 88.

The ecclesiastical establishment of the Island is quite unique,

and furnishes some points from which the legislators of Europe might derive a salutary lesson. Its pecuniary exactions are more equitable, and the character of its clergy very similar to that of the same order in other countries nearer home. The respective provinces of the spiritual and civil power have been matter of dispute in Hayti as well as elsewhere. Priestism is everywhere the same intriguing, crafty, remorseless, and despotic thing. It needs to be perpetually watched, and is only kept down by the strong hand of power. Some Haytien priests recently refused, as *spiritual persons*, to answer the enquiries of a lay tribunal; and the president, with a promptitude and sagacity which did him honour, immediately banished them from the island. Mr. Candler's account of the Haytien church is as follows:—

'At a former period, when the Spanish part of the island was subject to France, the Archbishop of Santo Domingo exercised under the pope ecclesiastical supremacy. Since the union of both divisions of the island under the republic, the jurisdiction of the Pope at Rome has been repudiated; the archbishop has banished himself to a distant country, and the President, following the example of Henry the Eighth, has become head of the church. The religion recognised by law is Roman Catholic; but there is only one order of priests; no archbishops, bishops, deans, or other titled dignitaries, swell the ecclesiastical muster-roll, or levy contributions on the people. Entire toleration is the law of the land, and is freely extended to all dissentients from the Romish church. There are no tithes for the maintenance of a priesthood, and no forced contributions for the support of public worship or the repair of the parish church. Every contribution on the score of religion is paid for some presumed spiritual benefit, and the amount to be demanded for each separate service is regulated by law. The following are the payments prescribed for church service by a late act of the legislature, 1840, cap. iv. art. 28. 'There shall be received for a baptism half a dollar. For a marriage, with the performance of mass, eight dollars. For a marriage without the mass, four dollars. For a mass, thirty-seven cents and a half. For a high mass, a service, or a funeral of the first class, in parishes where there are churchwardens appointed, sixty dollars; and in parishes where there are none, forty dollars. For funerals of the second class, twenty dollars. For funerals of the third class, ten dollars. Art. 29. At masses, services, and funerals of the first class, there shall be in attendance four singers, twelve choristers, a cross-bearer, sacristan, and swiss (sacristaine et suisse.) At funerals of the second class, two singers, six choristers, a cross-bearer, and sacristan. At funerals of the third class, one singer, two choristers, a cross-bearer, and sacristan. Art. 30. At services and funerals of the first class, there shall be a general ringing of bells, a suite of hangings for the interior and doors of the church, church-plate complete, with mortuary cloth and ornaments at the altar. At funerals of the second class, the ringing of two bells, drapery half way down the church, mortuary cloth at the altar,

and a portion of church plate. At funerals of the third class, the sounding of a single bell, mortuary cloth, a smaller portion of plate, and twelve candles. There shall be also, at funerals of the first class, hangings at the doors of the residence of the deceased. Art. 31. At services and funerals of the first class and second class, the necessary tapers are to be furnished by the party who requires the service or funeral. At those of the third class, the church shall furnish them. After the ceremonies, the tapers and candles that remain shall go one half to the repair of the church, the other half to the priest. Neither rectors nor vicars shall receive anything for offices at which they do not assist in person, except in cases of sickness.

'Such are the fees by which the Romish church in Hayti is sustained. One portion of them is given by law to the churchwardens for the needful repairs of the parish church, and some other parish purposes, or to the council of notable men, where there is a corporation; and the remainder in different defined proportions is bestowed on the rectors, vicars, singers, choristers, cross-bearer, and other officers. Every one by law is paid for what he does, and no one is paid for what he does not. These payments to the church are in one sense a tax, because they are prescribed by law; but they are a tax which any individual who has a conscientious objection to them may avoid paying, by declining the use of the prescribed rites. A mother brings her child to be baptized by the priest, and receives his blessing, and pays half-a-dollar for the presumed benefit; but if she decline the ceremony altogether, or take her child to a protestant missionary for baptism, *the state exacts nothing*. A person dies: the relations of the deceased desire a grand funeral, and pay sixty dollars for the service, sixty dollars for high mass, and sixty for the interment, and receive in return a loud noise of bells, a full choir, and the display of a huge silver crucifix; all this is perfectly intelligible, and looking at religion as a trade or a plaything is perfectly just; but if the relations or friends of a deceased person choose to bury the body in the public cemetery without the intervention of a priest, the grave is opened to receive it, and *the state exacts nothing*.'—pp. 94—97.

The number of Protestants in Hayti is computed not to exceed 1200. There are three small chapels in the capital, one belonging to the Baptists, who are chiefly emigrants from America, another to some branch of the Methodist body, and the third to the Wesleyan Missionary Society of London. The entire number of professing Protestants in the city is about 500, the larger portion of whom are Anglo-Americans of the middle and lowest classes. Many of them have sadly degenerated from the morality of their fathers, and have sunk to the level of the corruption prevalent around them. Amongst the Wesleyans there are some truly pious persons. 'We saw and conversed with several,' says our author, 'and can bear testimony to their simplicity, piety, and zeal: they form the nucleus of a French church, which, though very small at present as to number, seems likely, under the new

arrangements of the mission, to increase.' We fervently hope that this may be the case, and shall rejoice to learn that the attention of British Christians is directed to so interesting a field of missionary operations. The claims of Africa are but just beginning to be appreciated, and we know not a spot on which the advancing outposts of the church of Christ could more appropriately be planted than Hayti. Were its black population evangelized, they could not fail, in connexion with the Christian negroes of Jamaica, to extend a most salutary influence over their father-land. These islands would constitute, in such cases, the head-quarters of a mission whose agents would be much better adapted to penetrate the inaccessible regions of Africa than any European labourers, and we should begin to hope for the recovery of that dark region to the light and liberty of the gospel.

We had intended to advert to some other topics which are raised by Mr. Candler's volume, but must defer doing so to a future occasion. We thank him for the information he has communicated, and strongly recommend his work to the immediate perusal of our readers.

Brief Notices.

The Biblical Cabinet. Philological Tracts. Vol. III. Edinburgh: Thomas Clark.

This volume, which constitutes the thirty seventh of the *Biblical Cabinet*, contains three treatises of considerable merit in their respective departments. Their titles are as follow: 1. 'An Apologetic View of the Sinless Character of Jesus, by Dr. C. Ullmann. 2. The Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead, by Dr. L. J. Rückert; and the Resurrection of the Body, by J. P. Lange. 3. Exegetical Essays on several words relating to Future Punishment; and Future Punishment as exhibited in the Book of Enoch, by Moses Stuart.'

The first of these treatises has obtained extensive circulation, and exerted a salutary influence in Germany. It is characterized by admirable temper, and exhibits, in a connected form, the proof of a proposition which is generally taken for granted. 'An incidental design in translating the article has been to show the state of theological discussion in Germany, and the wants which Evangelical Christians there are compelled to meet.' The second treatise provides matter for curious and not wholly unprofitable speculation. We have read it with interest and advantage, but should be sorry to be held responsible for some of the views which it broaches.

Professor Stuart's Essays are by far the most valuable portion of the

volume, and we rejoice that they are given to the English public. They 'are fine specimens of exegesis, on a topic of trembling interest to every professing Christian. They examine the principal words on which the doctrine of eternal punishment rests in their entire usage and bearing,' and place beyond reasonable doubt the nature of their testimony. We perfectly agree with Dr. Davidson that, by the publication of these essays, the author 'has laid the students of the holy volume under new obligations, and added to that well-earned reputation by which his name will be ever associated with the advancement of sacred literature.'

We cannot too strongly recommend these essays to the immediate and repeated perusal of our ministers and theological students.

Morning and Evening Exercises for July, August, September. By William Jay. London: C. A. Bartlett.

This is the third volume of the uniform edition of Mr. Jay's works, and contains the Morning and Evening Exercises for July, August, and September. It is introduced by a touching dedication to Mrs. Jay, 'always much loved, and increasingly endeared since the singular affliction by which her Heavenly Father has exercised her,' and will be received by a large circle of readers as one of the most welcome and useful companions of their leisure hours. We cannot too strongly express our sense of the value of these 'Exercises,' as means of promoting a sound and scriptural piety.

Mesopotamia and Assyria from the earliest ages to the present time; with Illustrations of their Natural History. By J. Baillie Fraser, Esq. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

Mr. Fraser possesses great advantages for the successful execution of such a work as the present, and has improved them with the happiest effect. Personally acquainted with the countries described, he has combined the vivid colouring of the traveller with the research and sound judgment of the historian, and has, in consequence, produced a volume of sterling value which many will be gratified to read. The design of the work is 'to bring under one view all that is known of the history and aspect, moral, physical, and political, of the provinces of Mesopotamia and Assyria; and to give at the same time a sketch of the causes that have produced the revolutions of which they have been the theatre.' This object has been kept steadily in view, with a singleness of purpose and indefatigable industry which cannot be too highly commended, and the result, as shewn in the volume before us, is a valuable contribution to the history of a region hitherto but little known to the majority of our countrymen. The volume belongs to the *Edinburgh Cabinet Library*, and is well entitled to rank with the best of its predecessors in that admirable series of works.

1. *Cæsar de Bello Gallico; with a Geographical Index.* Edited by Philip Smith, B.A. 12mo. pp. 220. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1842.

2. *Greek Poetry for Schools; containing three books of the Odyssey, selections from the Palatine Anthology, and other extracts, together with materials for Hexameters and Elegiacs, the whole forming a Practical Introduction to Greek Poetry and Versification.* By Philip Smith, B.A. pp. 115. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1842.

We can very cordially recommend both these little books to the attention of all whom they may concern, especially that large class, whom they most concern, the masters of schools. Both are characterized by all the principal qualities which can recommend books of elementary instruction. They have been carefully and diligently edited, are accurately and clearly printed, and are of moderate price.

The text of 'this edition of the Gallic War' is founded, the editor informs us, 'on that of Oberlin, which has been compared throughout with the editions of Herzog and Daehne. Conjectural emendations have been admitted only in cases of absolute necessity. No attempt has been made to conform exactly to the orthography of the manuscripts, because it was thought that the result of such an attempt would have been to introduce a number of inconsistencies most embarrassing to the young pupil. . . . . Great pains have been taken to simplify the punctuation, in arranging which one principle alone has been observed; namely, to point each sentence in the way which seemed most likely to assist in understanding it. . . . . No notes are given. A good teacher will always direct his pupils to the information which is really necessary to illustrate his author; and all other notes are, for the most part, either beyond a schoolboy's comprehension, or such as he ought not to need, and such as cannot be put within his reach without fatal injury to all habits of diligence and thought. While we admit that there is great truth in these remarks, as applied to a very large portion of Latin and Greek books prepared for the young, we should yet have been pleased to see a few notes from so competent and diligent an editor as Mr. Smith.

'The want most felt in schools,' says Mr. Smith, 'is, perhaps, that of good editions of the simple text of those authors which are most commonly read.' This want in relation to the Gallic War is now well supplied. A copious geographical index is added, which, in our judgment, considerably augments the value of this edition.

The little book of selections from the Greek poets is equally deserving of our commendation. The extracts are reprinted and carefully re-edited from Dr. Friedemann's *Kleine Griechische Poetische*, with a few alterations and omissions, the reason and the justification of which will readily be understood. The copious table of contents prefixed will show from what various sources the selection has been made. The shorter selections (some in the shape of exercises) are arranged under the heads of 'Regular Hexameters,' 'Homeric Hexameters, with all

the metrical and dialectical variations, 'Epigrams and Elegies,' 'Lines for Hexameters, the words in each line to be so arranged as to form an Hexameter verse,' 'Couplets for elegiacs, with the lines divided and the quantities marked;' to these are added two Idyls, one of Bion, and the other of Theocritus, designed to introduce the learner to the forms of the Doric dialect. Three entire books of Homer's Odyssey are also given. Upon the whole it will be seen that the work forms a very judicious 'introduction to Greek poetry and versification,' and we heartily wish it all success.

Literary Intelligence.

In the Press.

The Rev. Dr. Vaughan has in preparation a new work, to be entitled, 'The Age of Great Cities, or Modern Civilization viewed in its relation to Intelligence, Morals, and Religion.'

A Third Volume of Discourses, on various subjects, by the late Rev. Dr. M'All, of Manchester, is in the press, and will shortly be published.

Just Published.

The Rise of the Old Dissent exemplified in the Life of Oliver Heywood. By Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A

Narrative of a Mission of Inquiry to the Jews from the Church of Scotland in 1839.

Letters to Various Friends by the late Mrs. Stevens. Edited by her Sister.

A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art. General Editor, W. T. Brande. Part XII.

A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Dr. A. Tholuck. Translated from the German by James Hamilton, M.A., with an Appendix. 2 vols. (Biblical Cabinet.)

England in the Nineteenth Century. Northern Division, Lancashire. Part VI.

Letters from Hofwyl, by a Parent, on the Educational Institutions of Dr. Fellenberg.

Hints on the Revival of Scriptural Principles in the Anglican Church. By Rev. George Bird, Rector of Cumberworth.

The Pictorial Edition of Shakspere. Plays ascribed to Shakspere.

Le Keux' Memorials of Cambridge. No. 29.

The Death of Christ and Redemption of his People. By Andrew Marshall, D D., Kirkintilloch.

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Scripture Illustrated by Engravings, designed from existing authorities. Part I.

A History of British Birds. By William Yarrell. Parts XXIX., XXX., and XXXI.

A History of British Forest Trees, indigenous and introduced. By P. J. Selby. Parts VII., VIII., IX., and X.

Notes Explanatory and Practical on the Acts of the Apostles. By Albert Barnes.